REAGAN CHEERS, "LOOK" ATTACKS - ALIOTO OINKS

It's been a very rough month for Mussolini Alioto Fascist Mayor of San Francisco. Recently Pig Alioto had been working to strengthen his Anti-Panther coalition with Sam Yorty; the Ambitious Fascist Mayor of Los Angeles. Pig Alioto's anti-Panther links with Yorty' have been growing so until it reached the point that he was able to put in an appearance at the Happy Darkies (Watts Summer) Festival. Alioto has always voiced his love and understanding of "Militants", and he put it into practice as he mixed with some of Watts "Blackest Militants". The fact that Alioto, Yorty and Ron Karenga all see the Black Panther Party as a threat to their "status quo" is a very strong unifying cause. The Fascist Italian gangster, the Bootlicking Black Militant, and the All-American Anglo are fevershly conspiring to destroy the Black Panther Party. This gruesome three are not by any means the perpetrators of the nation-wide repression and persecution inflicted on the Black Panther Party. "Tricky Dick Nixon", "Pig Queeny Hoover", and "Rin-Tin-Reagan" will not be easily usurped no matter how ambitious the lesser Fascist may be.

THE BLUFF

A good indication of how big pigs (like Governor Reagan) keep little pigs (like Alioto) in line is the recent tussle over "Gun laws" (not pros and cons but jurisdiction). Although big pig Reagan is the Governor of the State of California and little pig Alioto's turf is limited to the San Francisco Bay Area, Alioto acted as if he was going to tell the Governor what he could do with his gun law, and just how far to jam it. It is the opinion of most people that pig-to-pig the Little Mafioso can kick the hell out of the big movie star, but luckily no-one had placed any bets because the next day all would learn why the little Italian Swine was acting in such an unruly manner toward his senior pigs.

THE SACRAFICE

Some one upstairs in the hierarchy had put some "Italian Ham" on the political chopping block. A soon to be published Look Magazine Article linking "legit" Alioto with some not-so-"legit" mafioso pigs, had been "leaked" to newspapers throughout the State by Governor Rin-Tin-Reagan. This blew all the quiet-but-frantic work that the little Italian pig maker had been doing underground to block or alter the Look articles publication. Like all die-hards Alioto's Response was "Fight to the finish". "If I should decide to become a candidate for any other office I shall insist that the full backgrounds of all the candidates become an issue in the election."

Alioto's mafioso cat was completely out of the bag by now, so the only thing left was to mention the obvious, put some of the heat on his fellow pig politicians, and deny everything. The revelations first made by the Black Panther Party's Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver have been verified by part-truths from the swines own snoot.

Alioto's first T.V. claim that the authors of the article had never interviewed him was contradicted by a two-hour taped interview made public later by his own staff acting presumably, on his understandably confused orders.

BIRDS OF A FEATHER

Of the many mafia figures asked about in the interview Alioto had this to say:

Frank (The Bump) Bomponsiero of San Diego "Never heard of him" oinked Alioto.

Frank Laporte of Chicago "Never heard of him" oinked Alioto.

Salvatore Marino and his son Angelo Marino, Operators of California Cheese Company in San Jose, California.

Alioto oinked that an attorney in his law firm office had obtained a small business loan for the company and that he had represented Angelo in an income tax case. (Angelo beat the case because of wiretap evidence)

When asked if he knew anything of the Marino family's activities in Pennsylvania prior to their coming to San Jose Alioto squealed weakly "There was a brother-in-law who was involved in some kind of illegal area in Pennsylvania, but so long as I have known them, the San Jose people, they have worked hard to build up their business". "our office represented them and still does". He added that he 'thought' Salvatore and Joe Marino had contributed $2,000 to his election campaighn.







MAFIOSO ALITO

The late Emilio (Gamba) Geirgetti, at one time San Mateo's biggest gambler "When I met him he was engaged in no illegal activities" - Alioto. James Lanza - a Mafia Don (Head of a Mafia "Family")

"My dad knew him when I worked as a boy in my father's fish market".

Jimmie (The Weasel) Fratianno a West Coast Mafia "enforcer" When asked about a loan to the "Weasel" from the First San Francisco Bank of which Alioto was one of the founders, and Chairman of the Board, Alioto oinked that he didn't know him (the Weasel) and had never heard of him until Jack Goldberg (an international organizer for the Teamsters Union) brought him to see him about a loan. "Fratianno got a loan based on collateral".

It is no wonder that Alioto gets along better with a small time crook like Sam Yorty, and a hired killer like Ron Karenga. If Alioto can make his way back down to the Farm Team in one piece then most people will be surprised. Alioto liberally quoted pig Chief Cahill to note the fact that "There is no organized crime in San Francisco" (The "Life" account of the San Francisco pig department was still ringing in Chief Cahill's fat red ears.) The organized crime revealed in the Berkeley Pig Plot to attack the National Headquarters of the Black Panther Party was not mentioned. The fact that two ex-Berkeley pigs pleaded guilty to shooting up our National Headquarters a year ago and have made a deal with the Fascist courts was also ignored. The two pigs Richard Williams 29, and Robert Farrell 27, have been at liberty on $3,000 bail each, while Panthers are held for $100,000 ransoms all across the country. It seems that all that's necessary for understanding from the courts is to confess to being a Fascist.

THE LAST STAND

Mussolini Alioto is denying everything, filing suit ($12.5 million) against Look Magazine, and not about to give up his Fascist ways or his "Blue-Shirt" "Storm-Trooper", Tac-squad, "Rin-Tin-Reagan" (the movie star) has definately put the "Little Italian Ham" back in his place. Alioto will either learn some bootlicking techniques from his ace-coon-militant Karenga or be disciplined further by "Miss Ronnie." Our money is on "Sweet Ronnie" this time.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

"ON REVOLUTIONARY CULTURE"



MINISTER OF CULTURE
. EMORY DOUGLAS

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

We, Black people in Babylon, are fighting for liberation from political domination at the hands of the oppressor, from economic exploitation, and from a social system that degrades us as men and women. Out of this struggle comes a new way of life based on the politics of the people's struggle. This new way of life is a struggle for change, a revolutionary struggle involving the masses of people. Just as the liberation struggle brings about new politics, it also brings about a new culture, a revolutionary culture. Born out of the people's desire for change from a corrupt system to a system that serves the people, a system that is free from exploitation of man by man, and meets the desires and needs of the masses of people.

The old culture is a culture based on exploitation and competition whereas revolutionary culture is based on cooperation. "Breakfast for Children, Free Health Clinics, and "Liberation Schools," are just some of the programs implemented that are part of the revolutionary culture. These cultural programs will be carried out throughout the liberation struggle because our children have gone hungry and without proper medical care besides being given misinformation in school for too long at the hands of this oppressive system. Through the new culture, our children receive the nutrients that are needed to develop physically and mentally, so they can survive this corrupt system and build a new one that serves the people.

The cooperation on which the new culture is based is the masses of people working together in the interest of humanity, fighting off a decadent culture, replacing it with



INFORMATION IS THE RAW MATERIAL FOR NEW IDEAS

a culture that works in the interests of the people. Our new culture being based on the politics of the People's Party can only be implemented through many battles with the pigs of the power structure, the exploiters, since the new culture is free of exploitation. Therefore, self-defense becomes a part of the new culture, manifested in 357 Magnum, Machine Guns, M-15's, Hand Grenades, 12 Gauge Shotguns, and Browning Automatics because the people have accepted the reality of armed self-defense being the only way to liberation.

Also out of the struggle for liberation comes a new literature and art. Based on the people's struggle, this revolutionary art takes on new form. The revolutionary artist begins to arm his talent with steel, as well as learning the art of self-defense, becoming one with the people by going into their midst, not standing aloof, and going into the very thick of practical struggle.

This new born culture is not peculiar to the oppressed Black masses but transcends communities and racial lines because all oppressed people can relate to revolutionary change which is the starting point for developing a revolutionary cluture.

SEIZE THE TIME!
Emory Douglas
Minister of Culture
Black Panther Party



"A NEW WAY OF LIFE"

L.A. PIGS VAMP ON FREE BREAKFAST PROGRAM

The military take over of the Watts Free Breakfast Program, by the Los Angeles Police Department and its agents on September 8th, is the latest and most outlandish atrocity overtly committed by the fascist governments of the United States to date, within the confines of this country.

Children, ranging from about three to fourteen years, were at the location of the Panther Party's Watts Breakfast to simply eat the food that we provided for them. They are there in the main because this government has not provided them with even the basic necessities of life, food and shelter, as are the natural rights of human beings, and is the duty of the institutions by which they elect to be governed to provide. And so we, the Black Panther Pary then have taken upon ourselves to struggle of not only preparing for the total liberation of all people, but the temporarily alleviation of some of the ills which the great masses of people suffer.

Now the armed troops - armed with shotguns - illegally in a private building, where 40 to 50 children are trying to stave off the hunger they daily suffer, and force these children at gun point to leave the building with no breakfast; with the pretext of looking for suspects of an alleged killing or shooting in a house that is well-known to be the location of the breakfast is used to terrorize elementary-school age children; when even after the children have left hysterically, their food is thrown out by these same gestapo pigs; when, in essence, terror replaces logic, and the gun replaces justice and law, then we must refer to the very constitution upon which this so-called government was found:

...We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness....(and) when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

Looking for suspects has been a common excuse and the basis for which terrorist acts have been committed and justified - it happens in Vietnam, when whole villages are wiped out, and it has happened across the country recently to the Black Panther Party, especially in the case of the alleged murder in Connecticut, for which our Chairman, Bobby Seale, is being held.

When we said this was fascism intellectuals, phrase mongers and fascists said this country was not moving to that point. Well, we say that this single act was an introduction to the open tactics the power structure will use to quell any form of legitimate dissent of the people.

But, the people are not fooled for the people saw this act and realized more strongly the need for Community Control of Police and complete control of their destinies. And we simple say again

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE, FOR THE POWER BELONGS TO THEM.

WEST OAK LANE MAN SHOT BY PIGS

BY LEN LEAR

A West Oak man, who narrowly missed death after being shot by a pig at point-blank range in his own home Sunday charged this week that the pig broke into his home and the shooting was unprovoked.

Joseph W. Slater Sr., 46, of 1608 68th Ave., an employee at the Container Corp. of America for 20 years, claimed he was shot in retaliation for a lawsuit initiated by his attorney against two pigs and the City of Philadelphia last December.

The suit was started after two of Slater's children: Wayne 16, and Eleanor, 19, were severely beaten by pigs from the 35th Pig District, York Rd. & Champlost Ave.

Following that incident, Mr. Slater suffered a nervous breakdown and was in the Veterans Administration Hospital for six months. He was released May 22 of this year.

The family also contends that after their attorney, Cassandra Birnie, sued the pigs, they were harassed continuously by pigs.

Wayne was arrested four times in recent months on "trumped-up" charges, while Pvt. Joseph Slater Jr., 18, was arrested twice. All charges against the brothers have been dropped.

While being transferred Thursday from Einstein Northern Hospital to the VA Hospital, Slater and his wife, Mildred, who is White, gave the Free Press the following account as to what took place Sunday.

"At about 5:30 in the morning, Wayne became very sick and my husband called the police so that he could be taken to the hospital," explained Mrs. Slater.

She said that when an officer arrived at the house, Eleanor, who had not been told about the pig having been summoned, opened the front door and asked what the officer wanted.

"He said it was none of her business, and she should step aside," added Mrs. Slater. She said that she had no knowledge of the police being called, but before we could say anything, the policeman pushed her up against the front door, and her head went right through a pane of glass."

"Then he swung at her, and I ran over to pull her out of the way," stated the father. "Then Patrolman Sixberry came into the house and pulled out his pistol. I said, 'Put that thing away. There's no need for that. We called you for help.' "

At this point, according to the family, Joseph said to the officer, "Get out of the house. I hate cops," as he stood with one hand on his belt and the other hand partly in a trouser pocket.

Patrolman Sixberry then pointed the gun at Joe and said, 'Whatever you got in your pocket, drop it,' " the father declared.

'I stepped a few feet in front of Sixberry and said, 'If you shoot him, you better kill me.' "

'I yelled, 'Don't shoot!' Mrs. Slater added, "but the officer pointed the gun right at my husband and fired. Joe was turned around completely by the shot, and he hit the ground hard. Then we began to scream and cry out for someone to please get help."

An ambulance was called to the scene, and the elder Slater was rushed to Einstein Northern Hospital. Doctors there said it was a miracle that he survived the shooting.

They said the bullet missed Slater's jugular vein by less than a quarter-inch as it entered his neck and missed his spine by even less when it came out his back. The bullet also came close to hitting his vocal cords and the main artery to his heart.

Wayne (who was not in the room during the shooting incident) his father, Joseph, Jr. and Eleanor were all placed under arrest and held on charges ranging from breach of the peace to assault with intent to kill.

A neighbor, Wilbert Thompson, 28, of Smedley St. near 67th Ave., was also arrested. According to Mrs. Slater, he was taken into custody after asking pigs not to handle Eleanor roughly.

Pig Inspector, Robert Wolfinger disputed the account given by the Slater family. He claimed that Pig Sixberry had been threatened by Joseph Jr., who allegedly said, "I'm going to get my gun and blow you out of here".

Wolfinger said that Joseph and his father then came at the pig even though he cocked his gun and warned them not to advance.

He claimed that the father continued to move forward despite a second warning, and then when Sixberry pushed him out of the way, his gun accidentally discharged, striking the elder Slater in the neck.

However, angry neighbors told the Free Press that they are "sick and tired of the racist, gun-happy cops in the 35th District" and that they have begun obtaining signatures on petitions that will be presented to pig officials, demanding that radical changes be made.

The Slater family told the Free Press that they will also ask their attorney to initiate legal action as a result of the shooting.

A physician at Einstein Northern, who requested that his name be withheld, said it was inconceivable to him that Slater could have been shot during a scuffle, as the pigs claimed.

"If this would have been the case, the man would have had powder burns on his neck, but he had none, only a clean hole," he said. "This means he was some distance from the officer when he was shot."

A police captain, who also requested anonymity, admitted (off the record) that a few officers at the 35th District were "racists who are a little too anxious to pull the trigger."

"You shouldn't judge all policemen by these few," he added. "there aren't many of them, but there's nothing we can do about them at this time. You probably know the reason why."

P.S. The situation is so bad in Philly that the people have to call the pigs in order to receive hospital service.

(Reprinted from Philadelphia Free Press, Sept. 2, 1969)

LETTER TO THE PEOPLE FROM A CONNECTICUT PRISON

We as political prisoners have been subjected to the fascist tactics of the Ninantic, Connecticut state prison and its mad dog reactionary paper pigs.

Although we are denied the privilege to talking to the other women here face to face, we sometimes converse through our barred and screen covered windows. But even this is soon interrupted by the oinking of the pigs here.

We have seen the beating of two sisters here. There wasn't much that we could do except try to spread the word of this act of fascism around the prison grounds and report it to the head reactionaries that work here. After the beating, they were both thrown into a cold, damp cellar which the girls call the dungeon. They were left there without food until the head pigs felt it was time to let them out. DOWN WITH FASCISM!!

The guards have been seen with shotguns. When we asked one of the fool reactionaries here why the sudden change in the system here, we were told that they had orders from head pig D.A. Marckle and the Commissioner to STEP UP THEIR SECURITY.

We will fight fascism by building a united front against it. It's one thing to be oppressed; but it's another thing to be repressed. ALL POWER TO THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM.

Take the power from the paper pigs and give it back to the people.

The people are rising up like a mighty strom.....Right On.

Rose Smith



FRANCIS CARTER



ERICKA HUGGINS



ROSE SMITH



PEGGY HUDGINS

LETTER TO THE PEOPLE

August 20, 1969--We heard this morning that our Chairman has been arrested and charged with "unlawful flight to avoid prosecution." We realize that the repressive tactics of the fascist gestapo troops of America are stepping up, but we cannot afford to let them totally destroy the Party or its leadership. We have to fight "tit for tat." When they sharpen their swords, we must doubly sharpen ours.

It is needless to say that the people are confused at this point as to what the Party's politics are. They are not to threaten or harass the people. The blundering of the mass media and of the power structure must not be misinterpreted. The Party is neither vicious nor dogmatic, but we are fighting for the liberation of oppressed people and the people of the third world.

We know that the fascists have no evidence with which to hold Chairman Bobby, so we demand his release. We demand the release of all political prisoners. It is clear that they (the reactionary power structure) are trying to remove the head of the Party so that the body will die. They tried with Huey, Eldridge, and countless others; but it won't work. The Party will never die because the people will never allow that. We must continue to organize around the issues that affect us politically and economically so that one day the people will rise like a mighty storm....they will smash all the trammels that bind them and rush forward along the road to liberation.

F--- THE PIG FASCIST DOGS They cannot break our spirits; we will win!
Free All Political Prisoners!

Long live our revolutionary Central Committee!
(Our spirits are with you, Chairman Bobby)

Ericka Huggins
Frances Carter
Peggy Hudgins
Rose Smith

Political Prisoners
(Connecticut 14)

Letter from Prison

To the Black Panther Party:

Let me start by introducing myself. My name is Richard Clark, and my age is 19. I am from Philadelphia but am now in the District of Columbia Jail waiting for trial. I would like to say at this time I am facing a court-martial from the military service for desertion because I escaped from the stockade. Why I am writing this letter is because I've been in the revolution for some time (since age 14) but was greatly disillusioned by my former brother by actions I would not like to relate to at this time.

While in here, I ran into another brother from the Panthers and he was also from Phily. What he told me of my former organization shattered my confidence in them but did not deter my obligation or responsibility to the Black people. I am a nationalist and revolutionist and consider myself capable of defending my people against the pig by any means possible. But I can not do this alone, so I'm asking membership in the Black Panther Party. If I am convicted of this felony, I will receive from the pigs' both civilian and military courts, a position which you might say puts me in front of the death squad. In the past, I have defended and watched over brothers who were marked by the pig for death and risked my own life. But my life meant nothing to me then nor does it now, because if that's what it takes to defend or save another Black brother so that he may still get the truth to the Black masses, then this is what I'll give gladly and with honor. But although I have served loyally, I am now deserted and need the help of a brother.

Sincerely,
Saladin Ali

P.S. Please, brother, in your reply could you send me the latest edition of the Black Panther paper because I've only seen one edition, and I'm not sure if they will let it in but I will send a donation as soon as possible. Could you send me the latest news on Huey Newton and Eldridge Cleaver.

Richard Clark 162-443 CB "3"
Department of Corrections
District of Columbia Jail
Washington, D.C. 20003
200-19th St. SE

LETTER FROM A POLITICAL PRISONER

August 28, 1969

On Friday nite, Aug. 15, 1969, the captives on two tiers within the walls of fascist Hudson County Tombs, broke the pig good squad out of a bad habit...The habit of viciously beating the captives at will...the pigs will.

The pigs wanted to bust some brothers up because the pigs felt the bloods were making too much noise...b---s--t. The brothers told the pigs to go to hell, they were not going for a bust...So the pigs reinforced themselves with more pigs, but the brothers still stood firm on their convictions, namely that they were men.

Besides the brutilization adminstered by the pigs, the living conditions are unbearable---one of the main problems that all of us face is overcrowdedness.

When the sadistic pigs showed up to crack skulls on the tier where we were---we told the pigs, "you are not going to brutilize our brothers or us, if you swing your clubs we just as well swing ours." So the pigs left, but they returned with tear gas. All the brothers were shouting, "ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE" and "DOWN WITH THE PIGS." After they shot the tear gas on us some of the brothers became nervous, but we reminded them and ourselves of the brothers and sisters who have stood firm and have carried on the struggle for a long time. Even while the gas grew strong we still chanted, "ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE," and "DOWN WITH THE PIGS," All the Black Panther supporters and sympathizers all over the pig pen (Black, Brown and White).

Now the pigs had never had this happen in here before so they didn't know exactly what to do. They had 150 pigs out in the halls with clubs and guns...But they had gotten the message that we (the people), even though armed only with brooms and mops were ready to fight to the death...So the warden came in and we negotiated a "settlement", but if you know this fascist city, history was made in this act against oppression.

The next day the warden admitted that our actions were justifiable and we were corrcet because, for one, the jail, is an overcrowded tomb...Again we let it be known to the warden that we were not going to allow ourselves to be attacked by pig guards.

Although we are inside the fascist prison walls, we must function, for as our Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton says, "The walls, the bars, the guns, the guards, can never encircle or hold down the ideas of the people. ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS

Isaiah Rowley
Political Prisoner

OPEN LETTER TO THE PEOPLE

All power to the people!

"When dark clouds appeared in the sky, we pointed out that they were only temporary that the darkness would soon pass and the sun break through" (Mao). Having heard of the start of the Breakfast Program was the sun breaking through. It was without a doubt the most cherished news that I've received since being here. To know that you all are struggling in the interest of the people was the sun breaking through for me.

"We must perserve and work unceasingly, and we, too, will touch God's heart. Our God is none other than the masses of the Black People." "New things always have to experience difficulties and set back as they grow. It is sheer fantasy to imagine that the cause of socialism is all plain sailing and easy success, without difficulties and setbacks or the exertion of tremendous efforts." So the problems that you may be having should not sadden or dispirit you, for hard work is like a load placed before us, challenging us to shoulder it.

My particular situation here is still the same, a case of the court, (the criminal) trying to make me (the victim) look like the criminal, and the criminal the victim. The kangroo courts and the breaking of the constitution's laws are a reality here in the "belly of the beast" as Chairman Bobby calls it, and I can bear witness to that. My bail of fifty thousand dollars ($50,000) is usually unheard of for the type charge (unlawful interstate transportation of a firearm by a felon.vio. s922). So you can see that these fascist capitalists are not relating and have never related to that jive a-s constitution where black people are concerned

(A cloak of "legality" was given to the arbitrary arrests and the incarceration of victims in concentration camps. The term was "Schutzhaft" or "Protective Custody", page 374 "Rise and Fall of The Thrid Reich", which should be on everyone's reading list).

The high and excessive bails put on black people are not only unconstitutional, but slick Dick's and Miss Hoover's way of implementing punk a-s Mitchell's (Attorney General) protective custody jive, until those other lying politicians (Congress & Senate) in Washington can make it a law.

The bails set on members of the Vanguard throughout Babylon and the power structures refusal to set a bail for Brother Huey shows that capitalism really resembles "a dying person who is sinking fast, like the sun setting beyond the western hill."

In closing I would like those within the Vanguard to remember, "We must not become complacent over any success. We should check out complacency and constantly criticize our shortcomings, just as we should wash our faces or sweep the floor every day to remove the dirt and keep them clean."

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
BLOOD TO THE HORSES BROW
AND WOE TO THOSE WHO CANNOT SWIM....

Jimmy York
Deputy Chairman, New Jersey
Political Prisoner

LETTERS TO CHAIRMAN BOBBY FROM SEATTLE LIBERATION SCHOOL



CHAIRMAN BOBBY SEALE

Revolutionary Comrades,

Enclosed are various letters to the Chairman from our Liberation School. We realize that the youth make the revolution and the fervor for revolution is felt in their correspondence. We also realize that an immediate reply under the circumstances imposed by those lying New Haven and Berkeley pigs is improbable, so we will notify the young brothers and sisters to this fact. They will understand because they know that "All Power Belongs To The People.

Bobby White
Dep. Minister of Information
Washington State

JERRY

Dear Bobby,

I am in Liberation School and I have been learning about you and hope you get out of jail soon and maybe you will be teaching a Liberation School and it might even be us you'll be teaching and all Black brothers and sisters will be out of jail too.

Black Power, Black Brother
Jerry Coleman

MICHAEL

Dear Bobby,

I am learning from Liberation School in Seattle. We are learning about fascism, capitalism, and more. We learned about the Jews. We saw some films how the pigs treated the Brothers and Sisters. I hope you get out of jail soon.

Free Bobby Seale
Michael Marshall

EDWARD

Dear Bobby,

My name is Edward Brookes. I go to Liberation School in the Central Area. I learned about the Ten Points of the Minister of Defense, Black Panther Party. I hope you get a lot of letters from the black brothers and sisters. I love you and hope to be like you.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Edward Brookes

DWANE

Dear Bobby Seale,

We are fine in Liberation School. I am sorry you are in jail.

Free Bobby Seale
Dwane Butler, Jr.

BUTCH

Dear Brother Seale,

1. I want all black brothers freed from the racist pigs.

2. We want full employment for our people.

3. We still love you Brother Seale.

From Butch

MARILYN FLETCHER (a mother)

Dear Chairman Bobby,

I used to have a typical black middle class misunderstanding of the Black Panther Party and what it stood for, but after stopping and listening instead of letting myself be told by the news media, I am now able to decide certain things for myself.

1. I have no intention of allowing my daughter to live in a society as exist today.

2. Most white people and their enforcement agencies intend to keep this society capitalistic with the Black man down.

I now recognize the Black Panther Party as the leader of a revolution that has been building after many years of persecution and substandard living. I am ready to join and fight for my daughter's freedom.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Marilyn Fletcher

PANTHER 21 HAVE BAIL HEARING

On August 13, 1969, the Panther 21 had a bail hearing in Federal Court in New York City. This was the 17th bail hearing the 13 brothers and sisters who are incarcerated have had since they were busted on April 2 of this year. Attorneys William Kuntsler and Jerry Lefcourt argued that the State's bail system was "unconstitutional" and that the bail on wnich the 21 were being held was excessive. District Judge Edmond L. Pamieri presided.

Attorney Lefcourt pointed out that the $100,000.00 bail that the N.Y. Panthers are being held on was a "political bail". William Kuntsler picked up the argument blowing about the racist nature of the courts. Both lawyers were really "taking care of business." Kuntsler went on to point out how the pig power structure is out to destroy the Panthers, and how the press has conducted a vicious slander campaign against the Party. Lying D.A. Hogan and his lying assistant, pig Phillips equated the "so-called" conspiracy to bomb department stores to that of the Chicago bombing of department stores. But Kuntsler pointed out that the person responsible for heinous bombing was an insane white ex-marine. The N.Y. 21 are not insane; they are revolutionary freedom fighters and servants of the people. The "aura of fear around this case" was also mentioned. (When Panthers appear in court in fascist New York City, there's a pig-a-Panther). There were 3 armed men in the court. "For what?" asked Kuntsler?"For two lawyers and your honor?" Kuntsler went on to point out that "it is white people that are doing all the shooting." And Martin Luther King was the example put forth.

The Panther lawyers were joined in court by Mrs. Elizabeth Dubois, who appeared "as friend of the court" on behalf of the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund. Mrs. Dubois argued that the bail system "discriminated against the Negro and the poor." Mrs. Dubois argued:

"If a person is able to supply $100,000.00 he has a right to be set free, these defendants (N.Y. 21) do. Their ability to pay has nothing to do with their danger to the community."

Mrs. Dubois pointed out that the exorbitant bail of $100,000.00 violated the "eight amendment of the jive constitution which protects the defendant against pretrial detention. Judge Palmieri said that to deal with the questions presented by the lawyers "would overturn some of our fundamental concepts." However, he did admit that "the poor (particularly poor blacks) are disadvantaged by the (bail) system." The $100,000.00 bail is to insure that the incarcerated brothers and sisters will not be on the streets serving the people. Outrageous bails are simply a means of insuring pretrial detention for persons whom the (capitalist) system thinks is dangerous." Mrs. Dubois closed her arguement by saying, "those incarcerated before trial, have more chance of being convicted."

Up jumped lying D.A. Phillips and he was off and lying at full speed. Judge Palmieri asked whether it was true that some of the defendants had no prior records. Pig Phillips oinked that, "Each defendant is responsible for acts of all of the others in a conspiracy."

"Once you prove it beyond a reasonable doubt after trial in court," countered Judge Palmieri.

"If you assume these defendants are innocent for all purposes," oinked Phillips, "then there should not have been any indictment."

Right On, Pig Phillips.

"It is necessary for me to point out," said Judge Palmieri, "that their guilt has not been proved" and he asked again about individual records. "You just can't deal with these defendants as a conglomirate."

Pig Phillips searched his records and started bad mouthing Curtiss Powell, saying that Curt'ss Powell had a record of 3 arrests "Arrest, No convictions?" asked the judge and everyone in the court room, lauged and applauded. Moreover, the arrest--all petty offenses--were at leat 8 to 10 years old."

See that Pig Phillips was totally outside. Judge Palmieri reserved his decision to study records.

STOP THE GANG-UP!

Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Party, was arrested the other evening by two dozen FBI agents, armed with shotguns, as he was leaving the wedding of a friend. The agents said he was wanted for "illegal flight to avoid prosecution".

The charge was a phony because (a) he was not fleeing, and (b) he was not aware of any prosecution. Just the same, $25,000 bail was slapped on him. No sooner was this bail posted than Seale was grabbed again--this time by San Francisco cops--on a new charge: kidnapping, murder and conspiracy to commit murder in the state of Connecticut.

At the request of District Attorney John J. Ferndon, a judge denied bail on the new charge. Ferndon said some police informer had implicated Seale in the Connecticut crime.

As Seale's attorney pointed out, not long ago San Francisco Police Officer Michael O'Brien (while off duty) shot and killed a Black truck driver named George Baskett. And O'Brien was granted bail (and other courtesies too), although several people, who were not police informers testified that he killed Baskett in cold blood.

That is racism in one of its worst forms. One rule for Whites, another rule for Blacks.

LABOR'S EXPERIENCE

Working people come in all colors and such racism is used to divide them along color lines to make them and their unions a softer setup for the boss.

Unions have had their share of "conspiracy" to prevent scabs from entering a plant and police frameups when the powers that be wanted to break a union or bust a strike.

Certainly their own experience and the phony FBI "gang buster" stage managing of Seale's arrest ought to make union men and women suspicious of this whole deal, Especially since Seales'arrest is just the latest in a series of police raids, rousts and arrests, which add up to a massive attempt to smash the Black Panther Party and to intimidate Black people from organizing to defend their interests and improve their condition.

BALTIMORE BUST

Two sisters, Sherrie Brown and Sandra Wallace had noticed pig cars gathering about a block from the office. When they went down to investigate, they saw the people from the community gathering as the pigs slammed a brother against the pig car. The sisters began to tell the people about the fascist pig tactics and were joined by three more Panthers. As the Panthers talked to the people about the fascist pig repression, more pig cars arrived. The fascist swine grabbed brother John Clark and slammed him against a partol car. Someone in the crowd threw an old shoe and connected on one of the swine. A couple of burley swine grabbed sister Sandy, called her a "b--ch", and raised their "law and order" sticks. But another pig called out that there were too many people around. The pigs decided to retreat, but not before arresting all the Panthers in sight. They were Sherrie Brown, John Clark, Steve McCutchin, and Malik Jones. They were arrested and charged with resisting arrest and hindering pigs in carrying out "law and order". They are currently in the pig pen, pending on $500. bail each. Their trial is scheduled for September 12th. Sister Sandra Wallace was tried that same day on charges of assault on a pig and found guilty and fined $120.00. The fine was payed and she was released.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Legal Lynching and More of the Same



AHMED EVANS

The power structure is out to make an example of the five brothers they indicted who were alleged to be involved in a shootout with Cleveland pigs back in July of 1968. The fact that 14 pigs were wounded and three killed, has made it necessary for the power structure to set some examples for other Black people who might lean toward armed *self-defense*. The fact that the Black community suffered only half as many wounded and one dead served to up-tight the pigs' situation even more. It is common knowledge that the pigs ran amuck and somebody happened to be waiting and ready. It's also common knowledge that the pigs tried to shoot anybody not in uniform and then termed all their acts justifiable or blamed it on alleged "snipers".

Ahmed Evans was singled out as a "ringleader" and is sentenced to die in the electric chair on September 23, 1969. Brother Non-Du has been sentenced to 100 years with no chance for parole. Once again the pattern is set, the trend is clear. To add to this, the brother of Ahmed Evans, William Evans, has been found shot to death. The pigs' answer to this was "attempted armed robbery - justifiable homicide. Some people in the community believe the murder of William Evans was a "warning" from the pigs to Ahmed Evans' attorney and others connected with the "case."

A defense committee has been formed. Money and help in making people aware are needed.

Contact:
Wilbur Gratton
July 23rd Committee
P.O Box 2404, East Cleveland Ohio 44112

OPEN LETTER TO THE PEOPLE OF THE COMMUNITIES:

We must now begin to stand up and intensify our fight against this injustice that is brought down on us from "those" that are in power and ruling over us, the masses of the people. With all of this repression, we the members of the Black Panther Party as well as you the people can plainly see that this government does not work for the better interests of its people. It is outright criminal fascist tactical suppression, for example when two men are arrested for just saluting, in court a man that has been out in the front of the people's struggle. We, the people have been intimidated with threats on our lives and victimized by the pigs, the unjust courts, and the avaricious, greedy businessmen who in fact rule this country with force. His tools are the lying politicians and the pig police. Bobby Seale, your Chairman, is in the pigs' jail at this time, KIDNAPPED by those in power who fear him and the Black Panther Party. Why? It is because he is not only the Chairman of the Black Panther Party, he is the people's chairman; he is a leader for all of those who are moving against the suppression of the people's movement to free themselves by using their constitutional rights.

You must begin to understand and see that whatever happens to the Black Panther Party happens to you the people. We are not fugitives from justice. If there is to be any justice, then let those that rule over us and claim to show justice, be tried in the courts of the people as criminals from justice. (Those that have brutalized, exploited, murdered, raped and have intimidated the people). Anyone that has ever stood up against any of this repression, this injustice has been attacked by those that are in power, the elite, or whatever you want to call these fools. The social conditions which the people have been subjected to is against the laws of the land and are outright criminal. This fascism, upheld by the majors, governors and the President of these United States has been explained by the leaders of our Party. Their control must be broken by any means necessary. Also, all the branches of government that come under their control must be dealt with. We must not forget the lackeys that work day and night for the avaricious businessman to suppress and deny the masses of the people their human rights for freedom and the pursuit of happiness. Yes, if there is to be any justice, then a warrant should be put out on the F.B.I fool Hoover, the President, all demagogic politicians, and the pig police on the following charges: The President, and his flunkies for running a con game on the people and having them suffer for their rights; the pig police for intimidation, murder, and brutality; and the greedy businessman, for exploitation of our poor communities.

Yes, we are involved in political dissent.--dissent against the bull---t that is being played over the masses of people in this country today. No, we will not stand another day of this injustice. We will go on to interfere with the madness of this so-called government because you, me, and anyone else has a right to go forth and practice our constitutional rights. The Minister of Education has said that people must get together now because there isn't too much time left for interviews. I don't think they are going to allow us too much time even to walk around on the streets. So I think that this is a situation that demands a response from the masses of the people. So we can see and realize that we must move against all of these injustices against the people. We are not afraid to say that we are advocates of self-defense. It is only right that people defend themselves against the terror and inhumane acts of these pigs who exercise power over us. Our Minister of Defense tells us that laws and rules have always supposedly been made to serve the people. Rules of society are set up by people so that they will be able to function in a harmonious way. In other words, in order to promote the general welfare of society, rules and laws are established by men. Rules should serve men, not men serve rules. Much of the time, the laws and rules which officials attempt to inflict upon poor people are non-functional in relation to the status of the poor in society. These officials are blind to the fact that people should not respect rules that are not serving them. It is only a game that they run on you. "It is the duty of the poor to write and construct rules and laws that are in their better interests. This is one of the basic human rights of all men. One such example of this is the right for decentralization of any police department that does not serve us. "The slavery of Blacks in this country provides the oil for the machinery of war that America uses to enslave the people of the world. Without this oil the machinery cannot function. We are in the driving shaft. We are in such a strategic position in this machinery that once we become dislocated, the functioning of the remainder of the machinery breaks down."

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
FREE HUEY P. NEWTON
FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS
Joe Davis
East Oakland

THE CONTINUOUS REPRESSION LEADING UP TO THE ARREST OF CHAIRMAN BOBBY SEALE

The continuous chain of repression, the constant harassment, open fascist terrorist tactics can be seen clearly since the bust of the New York 21.

On April 2, 1969 at 5:30 a.m. over 400 plainclothes pigs vamped on 16 different houses and arbitrarily arrested (by any means necessary) 21 Panthers of the New York Chapter for a so-called plot to bomb tulips, pig stations, railroad tracks and all Department stores. The very same department stores that the Black people we serve shop in.

On April 26th, the pigs bombed the Des Moines Office destroying everything.

On May 22nd, the pigs arrested 8 Connecticut Panthers on trumped up charges of murdering a fellow Panther who they supposedly thought was a pig informer on the N.Y. 21, when in effect, the pigs murdered Alex Rackley.

On June 4th, the pigs raided the Chicago office stating they were looking for a fugitive that wasn't there upon investigation. They said something about the person being connected with the Connecticut case. The so-called person still wasn't there.

On June 5th, the pigs raided the Denver Office and arrested Landon Williams, and Rory Hithe on charges connected with the Connecticut case.

On June 6th, the pigs arrested Lonnie McLucas in Salt Lake City, Utah on the same charges.

On August 18th, the pigs held a ransom of $20,000 on the Chief of Staff, David Hilliard.

On August 19th, the pigs kidnapped Chairman Bobby Seale on trumped up charges of being a fugitive from justice in connection with the Connecticut case, based on the testimony of some nigger pig who signed a statement saying Bobby ordered the murder while he was in the state for a speaking engagement.

Coincidence? Do you think so? The dates are concurrent, the places of arrest or kidnap (arrest without a warrant), run in a very smooth line from the East Coast to the West Coast in order, ultimately, to arrest our Chairman Bobby Seale.

This has been a premeditated assault upon the Black Panther Party in an effort to destroy the Party that is working for the people; in an attempt to incarcerate all the leadership one by one, state by state.

BUT THEY FORGOT ONE THING ------ the Black Panther Party belongs to the people, and that as long as the people are oppressed and exploited, as long as there are Black people alive - there will always be a Black Panther Party.

ALL POWER TO HE PEOPLE
FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS

Sharon

SCANDINAVIAN SOLIDARITY WITH THE B.P.P.

Scandinavians received the news of the kidnapping of Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Party with utter amazement. It took some time before they could really believe that the fascist pigs in America had overdone their act.

On August 25th a demonstration took place in Copenhagen, Denmark in front of the American Embassy led by the Black Panther Party Representative in Scandinavia, Connie Mathews. In pouring rain over 400 Danes turned out to protest the kidnapping of Chairman Bobby Seale, and the mass repression underway to annihilate the Black Panther Party. Most Danes, for the first time, faced reality as they remembered very clearly the visit of Chairman Bobby Seale to Scandinavia in March of this year when he ran down to them exactly what the Black Panther Party was trying to do. Added to this was the fact that one of their comrades, Jorgen Dragsdahl, had been arrested and imprisoned in California for raising his hands in court during the hearing of Chairman Bobby Seale.

A press release from Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party was also read at the demonstration. Due to the contents of this press release, one of the major newspapers in Denmark carried an Editorial the next day on the repression against the Black Panther Party and included the following extract from Esquire, "The ghetto seethes with spies, secret codes and double agents. One would think the police were preparing themselves for a war or were about to start one".



CONNIE MATHEWS

This article appeared in Esquire one and a half years ago. It is now diaphanous that Fascist America, under the direction of the Chief of Pigs, J. Edgar Hoover, has started a full scale war against the Black Panther Party.

It becomes crystal clear to Scandinavians that J. Edgar Hoover considers the Black Panther Party a threat because they are the first Black movement to put the Black American Struggle into a political context. In opposition to the Black Cultural Nationalists who condemn all Whites alike, the Black Panther Party does not primarily see the struggle as a racial conflict but as a conflict between the oppressors and the oppressed, capitalism and socialism. They express solidarity with the Third World and look upon their struggle as a link in the struggle of all oppressed peoples.

The Scandinavians are standing in solidarity with the Black Panther Party and are demanding consistently the release of Huey P. Newton, Bobby Seale, the right of Eldridge Cleaver to return to the U.S.A., the release of all political prisoners and an immediate end to the massive repression launched against the Black Panther Party.

Connie Mathews
Black Panther Party,
Representative in Scandinavia

FASCISM IN THE LAND OF THE TREE AND THE HOME OF THE SLAVE

If it wasn't for Huey, Bobby, Eldridge, David and all the other B.P.P. members, their would be no organization in fascist hypocritical America serving the people. The Free Breakfast Program implemented by Huey, Bobby, Eldridge, and David, has now spread (as have all the many other programs) across fascist America. By their deeds, our leaders have clearly demonstrated to all of the people that they are dedicated, and are firmly committed to serving the people. They have not asked for recognition, nor do they seek wealth or personal power. Huey, Bobby, Eldridge, and David have laid their lives on the line along with the B.P.P.'s rank and file. The work and programs initiated by these community leaders, (The Free Breakfast for School Children, Free Health Clinics, Liberation Schools, and Free Clothing) have brought the full weight of repression of this fascist bourgeois dictatorship down upon the peoples' Party (B.P.P.) in general and upon the B.P.P. leadership in particular.

This criminal fascist government which pays (with taxes stolen from the workers) avaricious farmers not to grow crops, and avaricious ranchers to destroy livestock, while the people go hungry or are forced to rely on meat substitutes, dehydrated milk and other dairy substitutes that do not provide the nutrients necessary for our children to develop strong healthy minds and bodies, dares to label the B.P.P. and our leadership as "criminal and undesirables" which must be destroyed by any means available.

This genocidal and arch-criminal government, which is guilty of misappropiating billions yearly, is squandering the lives and resources of the people at home and is perpetrating heinous crimes against people all over the globe. This fascist dictatorship is headed by one of the worst demagogic, megalomaniacs in history, Tricky Dick Nixon.

Demagogic congressmen, governors, mayors with their pig armies of repression serve not the people, but instead serve the interests of fat avaricious dairymen who destroy millions of gallons of milk yearly in order to keep dairy products out of the mouths of the poor. The welfare of the huge chain markets, which over-charge as well as sell contaminated foods in our communities (foods that they would never contemplate passing off to the ruling fascists) is protected. Banks, corporations, government agencies and other gigantic trusts blatantly rob the people through exorbitant rates for services, goods and by under paying the workers. The corporations and government agencies through unsafe working conditions, faulty equipment, etc. cause untold suffering and death to thousands of workers. All the forementioned including the fascist military, which is presently mired down in a people's wars of national liberation, and sissy a-- J. Edgar Hoover and all his fascist punk pig cops are in collusion against the people and the B.P.P. with the complete sanction of pig Nixon. Their schemes and actions are directed toward wiping out, violently suppressing, not only the leadership and members of the B.P.P., not just those who would dare to struggle to return all power to the people, but also the fascist are attempting to irradicate completely the socialist programs initiated by he B.P.P. Fascism is seeking to destroy the will of the people as manifested in the leadership of the B.P.P. The only measure the fascist could adopt, when on the verge of extinction after having been driven to the wall by the demands of the people and the Party, was the undisguised fascist tactic of kidnapping the peoples Chairman, Bobby Seale. They have exposed themselves to the people as being filthy degenerate fascist pigs. The covers were finally taken off.

The people have always been aware that the courts, from federal on down to the municipal level, were just not the places to receive justice. Unless one checked out the court system, you could not be sure of what is happening. Fascist justice is manifested in being held for 72 hours onsuspicion, of having ransoms and exorbitant fines imposed, of being put on years of probation, of being incarcerated onweekends, of being sentenced to the maximum for every violation of the "law"; or forseeking redress in court against a negligent avaricious landlord, businessman and or the government and having the case thrown out. The papers are full of cases where the demagogic D.A.'s coupled with fascist judges and juries are sending or attempting to send our brothers, sisters, fathers, mothers and children to life in prison or to extermination centers to be gassed, electrocuted, hanged or shot. On the other hand the fascist courts uphold the law and order of finance capital. When corporations need stike-breakers, the courts rule in their favor, and the fascist pig cops move on the workers, brutalizing and terrorizing them. The fascist pigs harass, intimidate, torture and kill minority people and the exploited White working class because the fascist courts have given the fascist pig cops a license to kill, to murder in cold blood. The pigs know that murder of fourteen and fifteen year old youths will be simply classfied as justifiable homicide.



RANDY WILLIAMS

The B.P.P.'s primary objective is to make the people fully aware that the government, from demagogic megalomaniacs, fascist Nixon and Hoover, to the local lackeys Mickey Mouse Reagan and Mafioso Alioto who are the criminals. They are responsible for all the evils that exist. Polluted air and water, the war, exorbitant taxes and rents, unsafe housing and cars, red devils mixed with strychnine (being sold on school grounds) and the harassment, kidnapping, imprisonment and murder of the people and attempts to exterminate the B.P.P. leadership. These are just a few examples of the criminal activities these fascist are guilty of.

The B.P.P. stands before the people with our ten point platform and program to show where we are determined to go. We know and understand protracted struggle and we see through the fascist futile attempts to destroy the B.P.P. and the beautiful socialist programs which the people have taken as their own. The people and the B.P.P. are determined to make sure all fascists are swept into their graves. The people and the Party shall see to it that the people's Chairman, Bobby Seale, will not be railroaded through the fascist court system and into the oppressors prison.

WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK MEN AND WOMEN HELD IN FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY AND CITY PRISONS AND JAILS.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!
FREE HUEY!
FREE BOBBY!
FREE LANDON AND RORY!
FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!

Randy

MISSISSIPPI COON HUNTERS STRIKE AGAIN

On Friday, August 15, two New Orleans women were arrested in the "sovereign state" of Mississippi on the trumped-up charges of "disturbing the peace." The two women, Miss Theresa Ann Jackson, and Miss Alexander Mary Reed (from England) were conducting an Educational Survey in the area of Old Brandon Road, just on the outskirts of Jackson. As they were going about their work, an unidentified car drove up. Out stepped a big fat, red necked cracker. He then told the two girls to get in his car. Terry told him hell no, she wasn't going anywhere with him. Then this "concerned white citizen" pulled out a gun and started shouting obscenities at them. Terry's white companion, Mary, stepped between the two and told the bastard that she objected to the way he was talking to Terry.



MISSES A. MARY REED and THERESA ANN JACKSON

Out of the blue rolled up a Pigmobile. Two nigger hating Coon Hunters stepped out and without asking any questions, promptly arrested the two. The Pigs refused to tell the girls why they were arrested.

Both Terry and Mary were taken to the Rankin County Pig Pen, placed in seperate cells and were not allowed to make phone calls. Mary was told by the Pigs that she was lower than low to be found in the company of a nigger. Subsequently, the Pigs cursed and beat the two girls unmercifully throughout the night.

After a week of captivity, Terry managed to smuggle out a letter to her mother who lives in New Orleans. Her mother contacted a lawyer in Jackson, and he managed to get them out after paying $350 fines each.

Of the Pig Departments around the country, probably the most racist of all are the Mississippi Pig Departments. These racist swine have reputations of being Pigs by day and Klansmen by night. In view of this entire incident, at least two question stand out above all others: (1) Why did the Pigs feel it was their duty to beat two helpless females, (2) Why were they not permitted to use the telephone.

How long will we allow this kind of sh-- to continue? We must not allow these racist b------s to f--k all over our women. No longer must we sit idly by and watch the oppressors insult, maim, murder and rape our wives, mothers, and sisters. We must protect our families, our friends, and our communities from the vicious attacks from the sick sadist policemen at any cost.

DEATH TO THE PIGS

by Louis X

FASCIST DUAL TACTICS

Some people who are quibbling about the correctness of the recently held U.F.A.F. Conference called by the Black Panther Party should consider the announcement by the fascist state's "Justice" department to intensify its harassment and attempted suppression of the Panthers.

The deliberate attack on the Party's Chicago office by the pigs set the stage for a new round of violent suppression and coming on the heels of this event, the announcement to "investigate" possible (sic!) violations of the civil rights of Panthers is a mere smokescreen to conceal more "legal" repression.

Let no one be confused; didn't the Chicago pigs claim that "they were fired upon" by the Panthers? But this lie was exposed by Chairman Bobby when he pointed out that "all windows and doors were covered" in order to foil just such sneak attacks by the pigs as this. In seeking to blame the Panthers for "firing first", the pigs are using the tactics of all reactionaries and are like the thief who yells "stop thief!"

Now the government comes forth behind this event and seemingly says it will look for violations of Panthers' "civil rights," (supposedly carried out by the pigs.) But what they are really doing is seeking to confuse public opinion by painting the false notion in people's minds that the government is willing to punish its own forces and extend justice and democracy to all, even Black Panthers, while at the same time, conspiring to begin a fresh round of "legal" repression. This is known as counter-revolutionary dual tactics and is designed to disarm and mislead people away from the Party's correct call to fight against fascism.

We must expose these fascist dual tactics and not be hoodwinked by the seemingly "good intentions" of the ruling circles, or of their state apparatus. By the very contradictoriness of their own position, they are required to vary their tactics, seek to undermine the growing influence of the Black Panther Party, especially in the light of the U.F.A.F Conference.

Fight Fascism
All Power to the People!

W. H. Sherman
National Liberation Study Group
P O Box 16022
San Francisco, Calif.

A LETTER OF PROTEST TO BERKELEY PIG CHIEF

August 27, 1969
Chief Bruce Baker
Berkeley Police Department
Hall of Justice
Berkeley, California

Dear Chief Baker:

We are aghast upon reading the drafted plan for the annihilation of the Black Panther Party National Headquarters which has come from your office and the desk of Officer Plummer! We are even more shocked by your Department's spokesman, heard on KPFA tonight admitting that this sordid document issues from the Berkeley Police Department.

I wish to register my strongest protest against even the thought of such a plan, much less the actual drafting of it! I can no longer consider of any value such proposals of police-community workshops and public meetings aimed at bettering relations between police and the people. Who can sit down and talk with the mentality represented in this plan. Rather, it fills me with disgust, and then with fear and anger. Rather than talking, I believe that my Church would do better to begin installing armor-plate on our own windows immediately. Let me put it more directly: do you have similar plans for the Free Church and other Movement headquarters? We are anxious to know.

I am encouraged by the fact that such a plan has found its way outside your department: to the press. One of the remaining hopes of the people is the free press which can print plans from police departments, as well as lists of narcs and tactical squads. Perhaps free press, in the end, will be our only hope of community control of the police.

I think I speak for the Free Church community in saying that we are a Church which will support our brothers in the Black Panther Party with whatever resources we have. Documents such as this plan only confirm us in the belief that the Party is the cutting edge of the Black man's struggle (and our own) for liberation in this society.

Regretfully,
Fr. Richard L. York, Free Church

UNITY IS MORE NECESSARY THAN EVER

REPRESSION

The police, FBI, CIA and repressive agencies in general are on the prowl for Black militants. In the last few months Black Panther Party offices in such cities as Sacramento, Chicago, Denver, Washington and Salt Lake City have been attacked by the police. Searching without warrants, the making of false accusations, the setting of high bails, mass arrests and other actions have been taken against the Panthers - which led Gerald Lefcourt, their New York lawyer, to say, "They are certain the Government is trying to destroy them within a year."

The Black Panthers have been carrying out unity activities with other groups of liberals, leftists and radicals -- Black and White -- to form a coalition against repression. But this unity of Blacks and Whites against U.S. racial oppression has caused the Panthers to be attacked by other groups of Black self-styled nationalists. This clash among Black groups has exposed existing ideological differences.

NATIONALISM: REACTIONARY OR REVOLUTIONARY

The last few years have seen the development of a trend in U.S. Blacks toward studying and becoming acquainted with African culture. The Black man has become aware that the theory of racial inferiority was a myth which served to prop up the system of exploitation. Thus, the wearing of African clothes, the use of African names and languages -- all this has become popular in the United States, as has the wearing of natural hair styles and the emphasizing of other external characteristics aimed at making blacks more like the peoples they originated from.

But this trend toward idealizing Blackness has its negative side. Black leaders in the front ranks of the struggle against the American way of life and for the liberation of Black people have expressed their disagreement with this trend.

Huey Newton, founder of the Black Panther Party, now in jail, has said, "There are two kinds of nationalism: the reactionary and the revolutionary. Revolutionary nationalism is based on a popular revolution whose objective is power for the people. To be a revolutionary nationalist, you must first of all be a socialist. The reactionary nationalist is not a socialist, and his final objective is oppressing the people."

Newton's point becomes even clearer when he says, "Cultural nationalism, or pork chop nationalism, as I sometimes call it, is the result of a false political perspective.... The objective of cultural nationalism is a return to African culture, by which these nationalists expect to regain their identity and freedom. In other words, they feel that African culture will bring them political freedom. Often cultural nationalists become reactionary nationalists."

BLACK CAPITALISM: NIXON'S PROGRAM

Side by side with this ideological struggle, an economistic tendency called "Black capitalism" is developing. The idea of Black capitalism is to divide. It is a palliative aimed at neutralizing the Black masses and deceiving a minority which believes it can join the ranks of the capitalists as exploiters. Black capitalists will also expoilt their own people. This Nixon strategy has met with some success as a political measure.



Big businessmen take advantage of black cultural nationalism to grow even richer. American Greetings, Inc. has put out a line of greeting cards for Negroes.

For instance, an article published in Time magazine points out that there is a group of Black athletes who have become businessmen, taking advantage of concessions and loans offered them. Meredith Gourdine, and Olympic broad jumper, has said, "Black athletes have a better chance to join capitalism than any other Negroes." This is proof that some have joined the ranks of the divisionists.

Black capitalism has not developed greatly from an economic point of view. Thomas Matthew, who organized the National Economic Growth and Reconstruction Organization (NEGRO), found it almost impossible to sell his own capitalist services to the Government. He could not get the Pentagon's orders and could not complete other contracts for chemical products. These were granted to monopoly enterprises such as Kodak and Minnesota Mining, instead.

The reason such monopolies as Shell and the Chase Manhattan Bank, to cite only two of them, join the Black capitalism program is that they see a danger in the Black people's struggle and in their possible alliance with White radicals.

But a significant event has already taken place. In April -- during the Negro Economic Development Conference, in which the activities in connection with the Nixon plan were supposed to begin -- elements or groups that supported Black capitalism came out against the program. Brother Crook, one of the participants in the conference, later made the following statement: "Black capitalism cannot help the Black people, because it is based on the assumption that the exploitation of man by man is a natural thing. Since Negroes are the lowest rung in this country's social and economic scale, Black capitalism would mean that Negroes would have to exploit other Negroes."

It appears that the words of Black Panther leader Bobby Seale are already being proved true. In reference to Nixon's plan, he stated that Black capitalism "only leads to a strengthening of the capitalist system, a system which keeps Negroes in slavery."

In the face of the present situation of the Black movement in the United States and the attacks of all kinds which are leveled against it with a view to doing away with it completely, it is more necessary than ever to achieve the unity of the Blacks and to secure the support of the Whites in the struggle to eradicate capitalism, which is the real prerequisite for truly solving the problem of racism in the United States or anywhere else in the world.

PUBLISHED: 8/18/69

Gramma, Weekly Review of the Official Organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba.

PHILLY PIGS ON THE RAMPAGE

First LEE BERRY, epileptic beaten by the pigs, then Joseph Brooks, epileptic murdered by the pigs, now CHARLES LEWIS ..

Approximately 4:00 Tuesday morning, a brother named Charles Lewis who lives at 1814 31st St. was stricken with convulsions. The pigs were called by his relatives in order to have him taken to the nearest hospital. Approximately 45 to 55 minutes later a Black pig and a White pig arrived. Both pigs refused to carry Mr. Lewis, who was in convulsions, from his second floor apartment down to their wagon outside. Mrs. Mattie Knight, who is Mr. Lewis's sister-in-law told me that she begged them to carry him downstairs, but both pigs, especially the Black pig, were very nasty to her. Being that the pigs refused to carry Brother Lewis outside, some brothers, Tim Darrison and Kitshen Wilson carried him downstairs and outside to the pig wagon.

Mrs. Knight who relayed this story to me, is nearly sightless, and was unable to obtain the number of the two pigs though she desired to do so. The pig wagons that usually patrol the community are 2201 and 2202. In this area it usually takes the pigs a half hour to 45 minutes to respond to calls other than those reporting robberies. Mrs. Knight's niece died in January or February while waiting to be rushed to the hospital. In this case, the pigs had taken at least a half hour to respond to the emergency call.

Though these incidents do not involve actual beatings on the part of the pigs, they do illustrate the brutal nature of the pigs toward the Black Colony. The fascsist pigs are right there on the spot in protection of the interests and the property of the avaricious, greedy businessman, but take their time when called to rush someone to the hospital. The pigs (human property of the power of finance capital) are controlled by a system which places a higher value on property than on human lives! This is why the BLACK PANTHER PARTY is circulating a petition for COMMUNITY CONTROL OF THE FASCIST PIG POLICE The pigs on 31st St. must serve the people on 31st St. Not the avaricious businessmen living out on the Main Line! The pigs will not stop busting your heads and letting you die while waiting to be rushed to the hospital as long as they don't live in your community and are not controlled by you.

"THE PEOPLE AND THE PEOPLE ALONE ARE THE MOTIVE FORCE IN THE MAKING OF WORLD HISTORY!"
Chairman Mao

Only YOU, the PEOPLE, can put an end to this fascist brutality from the pigs. You must seize the power to control your own destinies, because HOG TATE, and CISCO KID PIG RIZZO won't give it to you.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Lynn Smith
BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Philadelphia, Branch

HANDICAPPED YOUTH MURDERED IN COLD BLOOD

Patrolman William Bishwanger shot and killed 15 year old Joseph Brooks on Wednesday August 27. Brooks, a mentally retarded youth was on vacation from the Ebensburgh State Hospital. Brooks was told by Bishwanger to drop a knife he was holding. When Brooks refused Bishwanger shot him in the face. Joseph Brooks died fifteen minutes later.

Statement from the Black Panther Party:

The outright racist action employed against Joseph Brooks is neither strange nor new to Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and other oppressed people in the confines of this capitalist system. The young brother named Joseph Brooks, is the third Black person popped by the fascist Philly pigs in the last three days This trend of outright, cold-blooded, wanton waste of life is the forces of fascism in the raw. The BLACK PANTHER PARTY says in direct opposition to these tactics:

"WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE"

This is point no. 7 of the Ten Point Program of the Black Panther Party. By force of the people's petition we will move for complete implementation of the end to POLICE BRUTALITY & MURDER. We want no more "Joe Brooks'" a 15 year old victim of epilepsy, and retardation. Shot down by a fascist pig just doing his job. Well, his job is shooting, brutalizing, torturing, and killing niggers.

WE CALL FOR THE IMMEDIATE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE 7th. POINT OF THE TEN POINT PROGRAM OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY --- In addition to our petition that we are circulating presently, (the PETITION FOR COMMUNTIY CONTROL-DECENTRALIZATION-of the Philadelphia PIG DEPT /National Committee to Combat Fascism), we will begin to circulate a petition in support of a PEOPLE'S COURT.

This revolutionary People's Court will be a trial of the racist, fascist dog that murdered 15 year old, Joe Brooks. We believe that ALL POWER GOES TO THE PEOPLE!

If you would like to help us in the circulation of this petition, contact, Black Panther Party, Philadelphia Chapter, 1928 Columbia Ave. CE6-3358

BOSTON PIGS RAMPAGE

Boston August 29,1969

On returning from a film rally sponsored by the Black Panther Party, the fascist Boston Pig Department moved on a Panther car with guns drawn, for a "motor violation." After seeing the community respond to their gestapo-like tactics, they immediately called an "Officer-In-Trouble" call, which brought 10-12 car loads of pigs with guns drawn within 2 minutes.

The Defense Captain, Doug Miranda, and myself were immediately whisked away and were not advised of our rights nor put under arrest. After arriving at the pig station, Doug was put under arrest for a "motor vehicle Violation" and I was suspected of being a fugitive.

These incidents prove several things: (1) The pigs are only in our community to brutalize and murder Black people. (2) They realize the power of the people and the Black Panther Party's role in the education of our people to the true nature of the decadent American society and (3) The system's attempt to destroy our dedication as revolutionaries for the liberation of our people.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
NO POWER TO THE RACIST GESTAPO PIGS

Black Panther Party,
Boston Chapter
Lt. Information,

Eugene Jones



PALESTINE

Editorial Note:

Within the Movement, debate rages over organizational and political strategy for the women's liberation movement. This debate rarely includes the ideas of black women. So we rapped with six women, members of the Black Panther Party, about some of the issues raised by the women's liberation movement and their own experience with women's liberation inside the Black Panther Party. (Technical note: A large space between paragraphs means that a different sister is speaking.)

MOVEMENT: How has the position of women within the Black Panther Party changed? How have the women in the Party dealt with male chauvinism within the Party?
PANTHER WOMEN: I've only been in the Party about ten months and when I got in the Party the thing about Pantherettes was squashed, we sort of grew out of it. Then there's Ericka Huggins. The brothers had to look on Ericka with a new light because she had been thru a lot of things that some Brothers hadn't even been thru. The sisters looked up to her and we all saw what we had to do. The sisters have to pick up guns just like brothers. There are a lot of things the sisters can do to change society.
We realize that we have a role to play and we're tired of sitting home and being misused and unless we stand up, male chauvinism will still show itself and be something that's just passed over. Unless we speak against it and teach the brothers what's correct and point out what's wrong, then it'll still be here.

There used to be a difference in the roles (of men and women) in the party because sisters were relegated to certain duties. This was due to the backwardness and lack of political perspective on the part of both sisters and brothers. Like sisters would just naturally do the office-type jobs, the clerical-type jobs. They were the ones that handled the mailing list. You know all those things that go into details. They were naturally given to the sisters and because of all this, because the sisters accepted it so willingly because they had been doing this before, this is the type of responsibilities they've had before, it was very easy for male chauvinism to continue on. The only examples we had of sisters taking responsibility were probably in Kathleen or one or two people who exercised responsibility in other areas of Party work.
We've recognized in the past 4 or 5 months that sisters have to take a more responsible role. They have to extend their responsibility and it shouldn't be just to detail work, to things women normally do. This, I think, has been manifested in the fact that a lot of sisters have been writing more articles, they're attending more to the political aspects of the Party, they're speaking out in public more and we've even done outreach work in the community, extensive outreach work in that we've taken the initiative to start our own schools-- both brothers and sisters now work in the liberation schools. It's been proven that positions aren't relegated to sex, it depends on your political awareness.

I can remember that when I came into the Party over a year ago at that time David Hilliard was National Headquarters Captain, and there was another sister in the Party who was the National Captain for women and even though most of the people related to David Hilliard as being National HQ Captain, most of the women related to this other sister for directives because she was the National Captain for women. Under her were sergeants and lieutenants who were all sisters and in their ranks were other sisters. There was almost a separation between the brothers and the sisters.

REORGANIZATION

When that was abolished, when there were no longer any separate positions for sisters and brothers, when we all had to relate to the brothers or sisters who were in the specific positions, there wasn't just a reaction on the part of certain brothers cause they didn't like having to relate to certain sisters, who were in leadership positions. There was also a reaction on the part of some sisters, who because they had to relate to some brothers, because they did not have ranks above certain brothers, they wanted to quit the Party. So it wasn't just a matter of brothers being male chauvinistic in not wanting to relate to sisters as leaders over them--but it was also the sisters, because of conditioning, wanted to continue to submit to other sisters, rather than to leaders of the Party per se, regardless of sex.

And I can see since the time I joined the Party that the Party has undergone radical change in the direction of women leadership and emancipation of women. Even though Ericka Huggins provides us with a very good example, it's not so much Ericka and the realization that Ericka poses a strike example. It's the fact that the political consciousness and the political level of members of the Party have risen very much since I joined the Party and because of the fact that we're moving toward a proletarian revolution and because we have come to realize that male chauvinism and all its manifestations are bourgeois and that's one of the things we're fighting against. We realize that in a proletarian revolution, the emancipation of women is primary. We realize that the success of the revolution depends upon the women. For this reason, we know that it's necessary that the woman must be emancipated.



CHINA

IMPORTANCE OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION

MOVEMENT: Could you explain what you mean when you say that the success of the revolution depends without men. Movement organizations have always been dominated by men, the way civil rights organizations used to be dominated by white people.
PANTHER WOMEN: I don't know, that sounds illogical to me because you can't solve the problem apart from the problem. You can't be liberated from male chauvinism if you don't even deal with it--if you run away from it. And I think forming any separate organization with that in mind is negating or contradicting what you're setting out to do. I think any type of inside organization that deals with women's liberation should take into consideration that women's liberation is important, but what is primary is the People's liberation. If they want a women's club, those have existed for centuries--they should form that, instead of calling themselves revolutionaries.

MOVEMENT: One of the arguments that's been made is that the movement has failed to attract a lot of women because of the chauvinism within the movement and because of the intimidation that's found in a lot of political organizations. We fail to attract the other half because men dominate. Women have to get together to talk about their special problems in order to involve more women in the struggle.
PANTHER WOMEN: I think our judgment of caucuses, just like independent groups is going to have to depend on whether or not they foward the revolutionary movement in the end. I mean if their purpose for caucusing among themselves is to make a more efficient organization and if they, in fact, are able to do that thru their practice, then Right On. But if they fall into a trap of just getting by themselves and just complaining about the situation and are unable to put forth a positive program, then that form is not viable. Again, their practice is going to have to tell--whether or not they further the revolutionary organization PERIOD.

ROLE FOR ADVANCED WOMEN

Also, for a person to use the argument that the struggle does not ATTRACT women to the organization, I think, is coming from a subjective point of view. Because if they understand that it's not a women's or a man's struggle. It's not an attraction for a man or a woman, but we're here for the liberation of oppressed people, irregardless of whether male chauvinism exists, the women would still come into the Party or movement because they agree or are willing to support the revolutionary principles that exist. If they find male chauvinism, they should be willing to fight it on the basis of principle and unity. And to say, "they're not attracted to it"--there's no advertisement for getting rid of oppression. It's an attraction based on principles, not based on some subjective wishes or wants. So I say that women who say that they don't want to come into the struggle because they're not ATTRACTED to the struggle aren't really interested in the first place.
MOVEMENT: No, they say the movement doesn't deal with their special oppression.
PANTHER WOMEN: Well, that may be true, but still, if you're interested in the struggle of oppressed people, you can come into an organization and bring that question in yourself, instead of staying away from it. You can fight on the basis of unity within an organization, not on the basis of, "well, they're not dealing with the women's question and they're not dealing with the special oppression of women, so therefore I'm not going to participate". They're still being subjective.

Well, I think that's one place where women who are already advanced are going to have to take a strong stand. The fact is because of objective conditions in this society women are more backwards, because of their positions in their home, or in school, even working women who are more exposed to what's happening in the world, are still relegated at home and to the family jobs to the children, etc, etc, and their perspective in terms of the world is more limited. So it's very important that women who are more advanced, who already understand revolutionary principles, go to them and explain it to them and struggle with them. We have to recognize that women are backwards politically and we have to struggle with them. And that can be a special role that revolutionary women can play.

ON THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN

PANTHER WOMEN: It's because of the fact that women are the other half. A revolution cannot be successful simply with the efforts of the men, because a woman plays such an integral role in society even though she is relegated to smaller, seemingly insignificant positions.

I think conditions outside the Party have forced us to realize that we have to get rid of male chauvinism. As Panthers, we cannot separate ourselves and divide ourselves and work as Pantherettes, and on the other hand have brothers work as Panthers and expect to present a United Front against Facism or against the enemy or against outside forces. There has to be unity within the Party. We can't be divided on the basis of sex and we can't be divided on the basis of principles or anything.

Ericka became a good example because the pigs realized she was a revolutionary. Maybe we didn't realize that, in the sense that we thought about it all the time or brought her up as an example of a strong woman. But, I think the pigs realize that and this outside condition has forced us to realize that we can't operate as two halves, separate, apart from each other--we have to be unified.

VIETNAMESE WOMEN LEAD

MOVEMENT: You once said that the Vietnamese women were your example. Could you explain more concretely what that means in terms of the struggle of women in the United States?
PANTHER WOMEN: We feel that the example given us by the Vietnamese women is a prime example of the role women can play in the revolution. The Vietnamese women are out there fighting with their brothers, fighting against American Imperialism, with its advanced technology. They can shoot. They're out there with their babies on their backs, as the case may be, and they're participating in the revolution wholeheartedly just as the Vietnamese men are participating in the revolution, in the national liberation struggle. The success of their national liberation struggle is just as much dependent upon the women continuing struggle as it is dependent on the Vietnamese men. So there we see in Vietnam where the struggle today is the sharpest in terms of struggling against US imperialism, the women in fact, play the role of the other half--not the weaker half, not the stronger half, but the other half of the

"SISTERS"

Vietnamese men. We hold them up as our example and we hope that the revolutionary women in the U.S. can follow that example and live up to the goal that they have set.

Right now the issue of male chauvinism is rather sharp and kind of out of place. We're starting to talk about it and everybody is sensitive about it--but once women find their place in terms of their roles as revolutionaries and use the example of the Vietnamese women, then I don't think it will be such a sharp issue. I think we'll begin to function and make it very natural for a woman to behave as a revolutionary and not as a subordinate or as a submissive half.



SOUTH AFRICA

"Our women have formed their own organizations when issues (such as the extension of passes to women) have demanded, but ours is not a feminist movement. Ours is a national organization, and no question that affects women is separable from the fundamental questions of apartheid, national oppression, and economic exploitation. Women's place in the revolution is no different from that of men. It is in the front line. Wherever that may be."

African National Congress
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"BABYLON"

"....WOMEN ARE OUR OTHER HALF, THEY ARE NOT OUR WEAKER HALF, THEY ARE NOT OUR STRONGER HALF, BUT THEY ARE OUR OTHER HALF AND THAT WE SELL OURSELVES OUT, WE SELL OUR CHILDREN OUT, AND WE SELL OUR WOMEN OUT WHEN WE TREAT THEM IN ANY OTHER MANNER....."

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
MINISTER OF INFORMATION
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

SPECIAL ROLE OF BLACK WOMEN

MOVEMENT: Black women are considered to be the most oppressed group in the US, as blacks and as women. That special oppression gives them a special, even vanguard, role. Do you want to talk about that a little?
PANTHER WOMEN: I think, historically, even at this time, even for women in the Party, to say we want full share and full responsibility is kind of difficult and kind of touchy because of our society. Our men have been sort of castrated, you know. The responsibilities that they rightfully should have had before, were taken away from them--to take away their manhood. We've had to fight all this before. Our men are constantly thinking or saying that maybe if we assume a heavier role, a more responsible role, that this, in turn, will sort of take away their responsibility and it's such a touchy thing, that we have to be very sure that the roles are evenly divided.

It shouldn't have to be one certain role for a man and one certain role for a woman--we're all gonna participate in the struggle and whatever we can do best, we do it, whether it's at a higher level or not. This is very touchy and presents some problems in combatting a specific thing like male chauvinism, because some brothers still have this fear of women dominating the whole political scene. It may not be voiced that often, but I think it's a very real fear, and we're going to have to be sensitive enough to recognize it. We're going to have to be sensitive enough to say that we're going to take more of a share of the political arena but, at the same time, we're going to have to keep these things in mind.

I think it's important that within the context of that struggle that black men understand that their manhood is not dependent on keeping their black women subordinate to them because this is what bourgeois ideology has been trying to put into the black man and that's a part of the special oppression of black women. Black women as generally a part of the poor people of the US, the working class, are more oppressed, as being black, they're super-oppressed, and as being women they are sexually oppressed by men in general and by black men also.

So, in this context we see that black women are especially oppressed in this country and it's very important that black women understand and black men understand that black man's manhood is not dependent upon the subordination of black women, but rather his manhood is, in fact, dependent on his own strength and the strength he also gets from a revolutionary relationship. A relationship is more fruitful when, in fact, the woman is the other half and not the weaker half. They (the men) get more out of the relationship, just as the women.

UNITY IN STRUGGLE

MOVEMENT: What are your ideas on the strategy for women's liberation in terms of separate women's organizations, the priority of women's liberation in relation to other issues like imperialism and racism?
PANTHER WOMEN: I think it's important that the separate women's liberation groups not all be lumped into one category. Their effectiveness and their value is dependent upon to what extent their work is furthering revolutionary goals in this country. I think that there are all different kinds of organizations in existence now. There are some people who talk about the contradiction among men and women as one of the major contradictions in capitalist society and therefore they take that contradiction (and even if they don't talk about it, some of them put it into practice) and develop it into an antagonistic contradiction, when actually it is a contradiction among the people. It's not a contradiction between enemies.

An example of this is at the UFAF Conference where occasions arose from time to time where women would want to have a caucus and a man would come around and they would get very uptight that a man was there and were practically ready to jump on him, just because he happened to be listening around. I think that's an example of how the women's struggle is taken out of perspective--it is separated from class struggle in this country, it's separated from national liberation struggles and it's given it's own category of women against men. Sometimes people say, "it's within a revolutionary context", but in practice, if all their rhetoric and all their practice is anti-men, it is not a revolutionary program and, as a matter of fact, it hinders the revolutionary forces.

The contradiction between men and women is a contradiction that has to be worked out within the revolutionary forces. It is not at all comparable to the class contradictions. It's the class struggle that takes priority. To the extent that women's organizations don't address themselves to the class struggle or to national liberation struggles they are not really furthering the women's liberation movement, because in order for women to be truly emancipated in this country there's going to have to be a socialist revolution. And there's going to have to be ideological struggle for decades and probably for centuries before male chauvinism is overcome. If women don't understand this, they're not going to truly be able to overcome their special oppression.

Roberta is correct and even those women's organizations who do address themselves to the struggles that are at hand, the strategy of having autonomous women's liberation organizations is incorrect because, as Roberta says, it seems as if those organizations look upon women's liberation as a priority when in actuality the struggle towards socialist revolution is a priority. Women can only become emancipated, not through their own efforts as a particular group, but through their participation on an equal plane in the existing organizations which are comprised of men and women who are struggling for the same cause. It's not a separate struggle and women's liberation does not take priority, but in fact is part and parcel of the overall struggle.

FEMALE CHAUVINISM

Any organization that's being formed for women's liberation, like Rosemary said, has got to take into consideration that they can't operate separately and by themselves. They must also understand the definition of chauvinism. Chauvinism isn't just relegated to the male. Chauvinism is an undying or unreasoning or irrational love for one's sex and if a women's liberation organization gets upright because a man comes around, that's unreasoning and irrational. It's not being realistic and looking at things as a whole in terms of a man too functioning as a revolutionary and a woman functioning as a revolutionary. If they're not careful, they will go to an extreme and they will become female chauvinists. They will have an undying love for their sex and totally negate revolutionary struggle.

Unfortunately, if we don't be careful, I think that the women's liberation struggle can be co-opted by opportunists. It can become just like a style or a fad and the whole revolutionary struggle will be set back because of this. This is one reason why the revolutionary practitioners, because of the repression we're suffering, can't take time out to go off by ourselves to solve some of our backwardness. This would be just another dividing tactic as far as I can see.

WOMEN'S LIBERATION IN PRACTICE

I think it's important to recognize the dangers that separate women's groups face immediately, just because they're women's groups and there's a good chance that they're going to get off base in terms of what the primary struggle is. However, I think we have to be very careful in terms of condemning forms that are used in the movement. I think that there is room for special organizing of women. There are positive things that these kinds of groups can do: for example, canneries, special plants where there's primarily women, electronics and this sort of thing in terms of working class organizing, in terms of organizing cooperative nurseries to liberate the energies of women.

But, they are always facing certain dangers in terms of turning in on themselves, in terms of becoming a very petit bourgeois little clique where they just talk about how they have to take care of the kids all the time or become a gripe session. So, I think, while we as Panthers, while we integrate the struggle of the brothers and sisters within the Party, we still will see how these separate women's liberation groups do thru their practice. And that's where our judgment of them will come in.

We have a phrase that says that the only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Now, our culture dictates that we become revolutionaries, irregardless of what the brothers say, like Rosemary says, we should function in a position that furthers revolution and revolutionary culture. The women's liberation groups that are separating away from the men (I think Roberta said there is some room for them, and we can't vacillate on whether there is or not, we have to judge them on their practice) should take into consideration that we're here to liberate the people and like we said, it's a socialist liberation struggle and we can't operate as halves.

If women's liberation is going to exist, it should exist with the goal in mind to channel the energies they liberate into a united liberation of the men and women together--not as a bourgeois cult, because this has happened many times. They've become extremist organizations of female superiority and have totally forgotten about the people's struggles and oppressed people and have, themselves become oppressors.

PANTHER PROGRAMS

MOVEMENT: Do the Panthers have any specific programs directed at women in the community to get them involved in the struggle.



VIETNAM

PANTHER WOMEN: The Black Panther Party does not have any program that is specifically addressed to women, per se. There is, on the National Committees to Combat Facism, a committee on the national steering committee of women. But the primary function of this committee is to channel those women who are proponents of women's liberation into areas of work integrated into the liberation movement.

Even though the Panther Party doesn't have a women's program per se, (I don't know whether we will in the future or not) I think we realize that the best effort is thru practice and that our liberation is gonna come thru the realization on the part of the brothers that they can't practice male chauvinism, but even more important, it comes from a conscious effort on the part of the sisters to educate themselves and not to accept menial positions or relegate themselves to submissive positions. The brothers can be non-chauvinistic as much as they want, but unless the sisters realize that they have to accept an equal position or act as a revolutionary, then this isn't going to do any good. So I think the best criterion for that is practice.

In addition to that--simply because of the fact that we are members of the Black Panther Party and are therefore in the vanguard, does not necessarily mean that we can deem ourselves champions of women's liberation. We believe that male chauvinism must be stomped out, because we have come to realize that it is bourgeois. Bourgeois ideas are those which are perpetuated upon us by the bourgeois class and is something we're fighting against. But because we've come to realize all these things just recently, we're very new at it. So that whether or not we will become champions of women's liberation, whether or not we'll be able to provide the example to lead other organizations towards women's liberation will come thru our practice.

WOMEN'S CAUCUSES

MOVEMENT: What do you think about all women's caucuses inside the organization? Some people say that within movement organizations there's male chauvinism and women must deal with it from a position of power, so they should organize their own caucuses. They also say there's a parallel between women's liberation and black liberation and just like black people had to get themselves together without whites first, so women have to get themselves together

Mad Quips From Mammy Lammy

"What makes a woman appealing is femininity and she can't be feminine without being submissive"

"We say male supremacy is based on three things: tradition, acceptance, and reason."

Ron Karenga (Pig)



INTERNATIONAL NEWS

CONTINUED FROM LAST WEEK

THE POWER OF ARMS

From Tricontinental May - June 1969

by Amilcar Cabral Secretary-General PAIGC

After the Party was created in 1956, there was another important moment in 1959 when the Portuguese committed the Pijiguiti massacre, which caused indignation among the entire population of Guinea and Cape Verde. That was a crucial, decisive moment, because it showed that the Party was following a mistaken line and that it had no experience. At that moment the Party knew nothing of what was happening in the world and we had to advance empirically. It wasn't until 1961 that I got to know the works of Mao Tse Tung. The lack of experience made us think that we could fight in the cities with strikes and other things, but we were wrong and the reality of the moment showed us that it was not possible.

That same year, after Guinea achieved independence in 1958, small groups were created and then, in 1959, the Party succeeded in uniting each of them under its leadership. The result was a single organization requiring that each give up its group identity when it became part of this one organization. This showed the confidence our people had in the leadership of the Party. In September 1959, a little more than a month after the Pijiguiti massacre, we held a secret conference in Bissau which gave a complete new turn to the character of our struggle. Then we began to prepare ourselves for armed struggle and we decided to go into the countryside. The President of the Party, Rafael Barbosa, was the first to leave for the **mato** to mobilize the people and to form new party members. Our city people also went — workers, employees, etc.; they left their things and went to the **mato** to mobilize the population.

Another great moment is when the Party moved beyond supporting the struggle of the Angolans to direct action in our own land in August 1961. We began with some important sabotage; the Portuguese responded with massive repressions against our people, which made the contradictions between us and them greater and brought us inevitably to armed struggle.

The great wave of repression unleashed by the Portuguese — during which Comrade Rafael Barbosa was arrested — didn't succeed in destroying our will to free ourselves. On the contrary, it spurred our will to carry the fight onward and to show the Portuguese that nothing could stop us.

At the beginning of 1961 the Portuguese arrested 21 Party members — among whom were Fernando Fortes, Epifanio, and others — some of them leaders of the Party. The great campaign that took place forced the colonialists to give them trials and to free the majority of them. That gave us a great deal of prestige and helped to implant the idea of the struggle deeper in our people.

Consequently the Party decided to take advantage of the existence of independent countries, at least of one of the neighboring independent countries. If the internal factors are decisive, one cannot forget the external factors. The fact that the Republic of Guinea was next to us allowed our Party to decide to install there, temporarily, some of our leaders in order to create the measures necessary to help the struggle. This enabled us to create a political school to prepare political activists. This was decisive for our struggle. In 1960 we created a political school in Conakry, under very poor conditions. Militants from the cities



Amilcar Gibral

— Party members — were the first to come to receive political instruction and to be trained in how to mobilize our people for the fight.

First some comrades from the city came to the school, then came peasants, youths (some even bringing their entire families) who were mobilized by Party members. Ten, twenty, twenty-five people would come for a period of one or two months. During that time they went through an intensive formative program and we spoke with them, and night would come and we couldn't speak any more because we were completely hoarse. Some of the cadres of the Party would explain the entire situation to them but we went further.

We performed in that school as in a theatre, imagining the mobilization of the people of a **tabanka**, but taking into account social characteristics, traditions, religion — the customs of our peasant population.

An aspect that I want to point out is the condition of our countryside. We speak of peasants, but the term "peasant" is very vague. The peasant who fought in Algeria or China is not the peasant of our country.

It so happens that in our country the Portuguese colonialist did not appropriate the land; he allowed us to cultivate the land; he didn't create agricultural companies of the European type like he did, for instance, in Angola; he didn't create **colonatos**, as he did in Angola, where he displaced masses of Africans in order to settle Europeans. We maintained a basic structure under colonialism: the land as cooperative property of the village, of the community. This is a very important characteristic of our peasant, who was not directly exploited by the colonizer but was exploited through trade, through the differences between the prices and the real value of the products. It is there where exploitation occurs. Not in work, as happens in Angola with the hired workers and company employees. This created a difficult aspect in our struggle: to show the peasant that he was being exploited in his own land.

Telling the people that "the land belongs to those who toil on it" was not sufficient to mobilize them, because we have more than enough land; there is all the land we need. We had to find appropriate formulas to mobilize our peasant, instead of utilizing terms that our people couldn't yet understand. We could never mobilize our people merely on the basis of the struggle against colonialism. That produces nothing; to speak of the fight against imperialism is not convincing enough. In its place we use a direct language that all can understand:

Why are we going to fight? What are you? What is your father? What has happened to your father until now? What is happening? What is the situation? Did you pay the tax? Did your father pay the tax? What have you seen from that tax? How much do you get from your peanuts? Have you thought about what you will earn with your peanuts? How much sweat has it cost your family? Which of you were prisoners? Was it you who was a prisoner?

These were the mobilizing factors. You are going to work in road-building. Who gives you the tools? You bring the tools. Who provides the meal? You provide the meal. But — who walks in the street? Who has a car? And your daughter who was raped by that so-and-so — do you find that all right?

To interest certain elements we even used some concrete cases the people knew about: individuals who had been molested by Portuguese colonialism but didn't realize that Portuguese colonialism was at fault.

In our new mobilization we avoided all over-generalizations and pat phrases. We went into detail and had our people who were preparing for this kind of work repeat what they were going to say many times. That is an aspect which we considered of great importance, in our specific case, because we started from the concrete reality of our people. We tried to avoid having the peasants suppose that we were outsiders come to teach them how to do things; we put ourselves in the position of people who came to learn with the peasant, and in the end the peasant was discovering for himself why things had gone so badly for him. He came to understand that there exists a tremendous amount of exploitation and that he is the one who pays everything, even the profits of the people living in the city. Experience shows us it is necessary that each people find its own formula to mobilize for the struggle.

CONTINUED NEXT WEEK

ZIONIST MENACE

Zionist aggression against the neighbouring Arab countries, and Israel's inhuman treatment of the Arab population of Palestine, millions of whom have been driven from their homes, continue to occupy a focal point of world anxiety. Behind Israel with her arrogant contempt for the Arab peoples and her dream of establishing a religious Jewish state from the Nile to the Euphrates, stands the world's most powerful and aggressive imperialist state, the U.S.A. Staunchly backing the Arab countries in their demands for the withdrawal of the invading Israeli troops and self-determination for the Palestinian people is the Socialist Soviet Union.

Thus, a prolongation and intensification of the Middle East crisis must lead to a grave danger that the two most powerful nuclear and military states will confront one another. No sane person could wish such an outcome, for reasons which are all too clear.

Yet, that is precisely what the leaders of Israel, aided and abetted by the West, are continuing to do. They refuse to withdraw to the borders they occupied before the aggression of June 1967, as demanded by the Security Council. They refuse to allow the return of the Arab refugees whom they expelled from Israel and from the occupied territories. They continuously conduct fresh aggressions against their neighbouring states.

Their pretext for so doing is that these states are allowing their territory to be used as bases for the operations of the guerrillas of the Palestinian Arab liberation



"Our road is dreadful but glorious"

FAT'H

movements. But who could deny the right of people who have been expelled from their motherland by force to return by all means including armed struggle? Or the duty of the fraternal Arab States to give them all assistance in their power?

Israel must quit the territories she has illegally annexed by her acts of aggression. She must readmit the Arab peoples she has inhumanly driven from their ancestral homelands. That is the plain message of the recent Cairo Conference in support of the Arab peoples.



Nguyen Thi Song, Labour Heroine, co-operative vice-chairman: "I'm responsible for the farming and stockbreeding techniques. During the past few years, our co-op has reaped fairly good crops despite frequent U.S. air raids and natural calamities. Recently, I planted sweet potato on some experimental plots. The result was heartening: 27 tons per hectare. This proves that a correct application of science and techniques can further increase sweet potato output in Trung Hoa, instead of the present 11-ton mark".

WOMEN ARE GOOD CO-OP HEADS SAYS HO CHI MINH

HANOI (LNS) -- In spite of the continuing attempt of the United States to wipe out that small country, North Vietman continues its revolutionary struggles, including women's liberation. In a recent interview with Marta Rojas of Prensa Latina, the late revolutionary of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh reported "Women have made a good deal of progress. They have taken on new leadership responsibilities. It is very common now to see women as heads of cooperatives, and, in my opinion, they're better than men, because when men achieve an exceptional workday they usually throw a little celebration party, and sometimes the production surplus is wasted. Women don't do that."



AFRICAN CULTURE

NEWS BRIEFS

Vietnam

On July 4, 1969, in the A So valley, southwest of Hue, 50 GIs and 10 puppet troops were killed or wounded in a clash between U.S. and puppet soldiers. In fact, U.S. planes had strafed and bombed by mistake a company of puppet Regiment 3 raiding near A Luoi; soldiers of a unit of puppet Regiment 5 coming to the rescue of Regiment 3, incensed by the rash attack of the Yankees, opened fire on a unit of U.S. motorised Division 5 moving behind them.

(Excerpt from Vietnam Courier, July 21, 1969 No. 226)

HANOI

HANOI (LNS) -- Twenty five GIs stationed at the port city of Vinh Lam staged a demonstration against the Vietnam war recently, according to a dispatch from Vietnam's Liberation Press Agency. The Vietnamese agency also said that GIs mutinied and killed two officers in the town of Thach Tru, in Quang Ngai province. South Vietnamese police reportedly indicated that the two officers were shot in an explicitly anti-war protest.

HANOI

HANOI (LNS) -- More than 100 Black GIs staged an anti-war protest July 30 in the port base of Qui Nhon, in Kinh Hoa province, according to a report by the Liberation Press Agency of South Vietnam.

The report, as transmitted by Prensa Latina, said that the men marched from one end of the base to the other and also marched on the local airport. They reportedly "shouted slogans demanding peace, the end of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and the immediate withdrawal of the U.S. troops."

At the airport, the Black GIs battled with cops who tried to stop the demonstration.

Vietnam

(Excerpts from Vietnam Courier, July 21, 1969 No. 226)

A group of journalists in Saigon took the decision to stage on July 13 last a hunger strike at the Press Centre as a protest against the brutalities and vexations inflicted by the U.S. -- puppet police and authorities on newsmen in the fulfilment of their duty, Western agencies reported.

This protest campaign began after the "rough tactics" resorted to by the police in a ceremony organized at Tan Son Nhat on the occasion of the "repatriation" of the first contingent of GIs under the plan for the deceptive withdrawal of 25,000 men of the U.S. expeditionary force decided by Nixon to hoodwink public opinion. Accoring to an AFP correspondent, on that day, cameramen-reporters were expelled by force of arms from the stand while others were punched in the face.

Before this wrath of the newsmen, the U.S. -- puppets had to give in by promising to punish the bullies.

However, these promises seem clearly inadequate to placate public opinion. The Thieu-Ky-Huong fascist clique, propped up by Washington, continues to encroach upon the freedom of the press and as it is known, within a year, over 30 newspapers have been closed down and many pressmen prosecuted, jailed or even killed by wicked thugs.

HANOI

HANOI (LNS) -- A U.S. spy plane was shot down Aug. 14 in Ha Tay province in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Prensa Latina reported. The plane was number 3316 -- that is, 3,316 U.S. planes have been shot down over North Vietnamese territory since the beginning of the war.

South Africa

The Vorster regime is pressing ahead with legislation to give sweeping authoritarian powers to the Bureau of State Security, already dubbed BOSS by South Africans.

The powers vested in BOSS are similar in many respects to powers vested in the S.S by Hitler soon after he took power in Germany.

Once BOSS becomes legalized, nothing this sinister fascist organization disapproves of can be published or raised in court.

The press cannot publish or communicate any information relating to military, police or security matters "deemed prejudicial to the safety of the State." In other words any person tortured in detention can be denied the right to seek redress in court if the Prime Minister or any official authorised by him issues a certificate preventing any evidence being led on his detention.

In other words anything the BOSS does not want publicised or brought to court can now be legally and effectly hushed up.

Isreal

The United States has delivered 50 Phantom Fighter-Bombers to Zionist Israel. The move is calculated to insure American type "peace" in the Middle East -- just as the United States has done in Vietnam.

Israel's Prime Minister, Gohld Meir is exspected to visit the United States soon and ask for 25 more Phantoms and an additional 80 Skyhawks. As part of the kick-back, Israel will have to buy the Napalm, (to bomb Arab civilians with) from the United States. The United States is the only country in the world that produces Napalm.

Chili

SANTIAGO DE CHILE (LNS) -- Cops broke into the office of Hsinhua (the New China News Agency) in the capital of Chile, and later detained the Hsinhua Bureau Chief, Jorge Palacios. Chilean authorities accused Palacios of violations of "national security" laws for his ties to the Left Revolutonary Movement, known as the MIR.

Brazil

SAO PAULO, Brazil (LNS) -- Three Sao Paulo TV stations were destroyed by fire between July 13 and 17, signs of the pro-Chinese organization led by M. Carlos Marigheta and the former Army captain Carlos Lamarca who deserted January 28 with a truckload of weapons.

SAO PAULO, Brazil (LNS) -- Sao Paulo saw its 28th bank robbery of the year Aug. 6, as urban guerrillas stepped up their activities against the military regime. A trio of armed men liberated $5,000 and took off in a car. Prensa Latina reported that there have been 61 political bank robberies in 1969, involving a total of $717,800.

LYNCHING

By Ho Chi Minh
La Correspondence International, No. 59, 1924.

It is well known that the black race is the most oppressed and most exploited of the human family. It is well known that the spread of capitalism and the discovery of the New World had as an immediate result the rebirth of slavery which was, for centuries, a scourge for the Negroes and a bitter disgrace for mankind. What everyone does not perhaps know, is that after sixty-five years of so-called emancipation, American Negroes still endure atrocious moral and material sufferings, of which the most cruel and horrible is the custom of lynching.

The word "lynching" comes from Lynch. Lynch was the name of a planter in Virginia, a landlord and judge. Availing the control of the whole district into his lord and judge. Availing himself of the troubles of the War of Independence, he took the control of the whole district into his hands. He inflicted the most savage punishment, without trial or process of law, on Loyalists and Tories. Thanks to the slave-traders, the Ku Klux Klan, and other secret societies, the illegal and barbarous practice of lynching is spreading and continuing widely in the States of the American Union. It has become more inhuman since the emancipation of the Blacks, and is especially directed at the latter.

Imagine a furious horde. Fists clenched, eyes bloodshot, mouths foaming, yells, insults, curses... This horde is transported with the wild delight of a crime to be committed without risk. They are armed with sticks, torches, revolvers, ropes, knives, scissors, vitriol, daggers; in a word, with all that can be used to kill or wound.

Imagine in this human sea a flotsam of black flesh pushed about, beaten, trampled underfoot, torn, slashed, insulted, tossed hither and thither, bloodstained, dead.

The horde are the lynchers. The human rag is the Black victim.

In a wave of hatred and bestiality, the lynchers drag the Black to a wood or a public place. They tie him to a tree, pour kerosene over him, cover him with inflammable materials. While waiting for the fire to be kindled, they smash his teeth, one by one. Then they gauge out his eyes. Little tufts of crinkly hair are torn from his head, carrying away with them bits of skin, baring a bloody skull. Little pieces of flesh come off his body, already contused from the blows.

The Black can no longer shout: his tongue has been swollen by a red hot iron. His whole body ripples, trembling, like a half-crushed snake. A slash with a knife: one of his ears falls to the grund... Oh! How black he is! How awful! And the ladies tear at his face...

"Light up," shouts someone. "Just enought to cook him slowly," adds another.

The Black is roasted, browned, burned. But he deserves to die twice instead of once. He is therefore hanged, or more exactly, what is left of his corpse is hanged. And all those who were not able to help with the cooking applaud now.

Hurrah!

When everybody has had enough, the corpse is brought down. The rope is cut into small pieces which will be sold for three or five dollars each. Souvenirs and lucky charms quarreled over by ladies.

"Popular justice," as they say over there, has been done. Calmed down, the crowd congratulate the "organizers," then stream away slowly and cheerfully, as if after a feast, make appointments with one another for the next time.

While on the ground, stinking of fat and smoke, a black head, mutilated, roasted, deformed, grins horribly and seems to ask the setting sun, "Is this civilization?"



HO CHI MINH

Born: May 19, 1890 Died: Sept. 2, 1969

FOR MANY VIETNAMS

On behalf of the Black Panther Party, we would like to express our deepest concern, for a valiant and courageous leader, of not only the World's Vanguard exemplified in the Vietnamese people: but a people who gave to the Black Panther Party the "will to resist" by setting the examples first against French Colonialist, that a people with the will to resist will always have insurmountable victories. The death of Ho Chi Minh must signal the peoples of the revolutionary camps to step up their wars of resistance against the oppressor of the world, "U.S. Imperialism". This will serve as the only valid concern for a man who spent all of his life fighting the yoke of colonialism. So let our tribute to Ho Chi Minh manifest itself in the creation of -one-two-three- many Vietnams.

LONG LIVE THE COURAGEOUS PEOPLE OF VIETNAM
POWER TO THE PEOPLE
SEIZE THE TIME

Chief of Staff
David Hilliard

TO THE COURAGEOUS VIETNAMESE PEOPLE COMMEMORATING THE DEATH OF HO CHI MINH

To die for the fascist imperialistic war mongers of the U.S. and others in the world; to die for the oppressive ruling circles of the bourgeoisie exploiters; to die for the capitalistic, aggressive, inhumane, atrocious, genocidal regimes is a death lighter than a feather which a destructive windstorm can blow about at random will.

But to die for the people; to die for the correct socialistic development of mankind; to die in the midst of socialistic revolutionary change for human survival; to die for your nation and peoples' right to self determination in their land, home and community; to die for the freedom of all from oppression that the Black Panther Party has witnessed in the proletarian internationalism practiced by the Vietnamese peoples' revolutionary representatives that we have met; to die after all the great heroic and dedicated years of sacrifice to bring to the world and his people an end to the murderous, stormy winds of capitalism's fascist, aggressive imperialism; to die because he loved the people of his nation and humans of the world (and Brother Ho Chi Minh had practiced this all the days of his life); to die for all of this is a death heavier than the highest mountain in the world of which no, not any destructive fascist imperialistic storm can blow away at will.

Who can find the feather or feathers that were blown away by the destructive windstorm? I can't find any. Who can see the mountains since the windstorm is gone? I can see many; they still stand. There! That mountain will always stand, and Ho Chi Minh is that mountain-- a death heavier than Mount Tai.

The Black Panther Party of Afro-America, vanguard organization of the coming American Liberation Front.

"THE MOTIVE FORCE"

Uncle Ho was a liberator whose deeds will forever be remembered by the oppressed and exploited of all lands. He was our friend, a friend of the working people in our country, of the Blacks and Chicanos and Native Americans, of all who feel the whip of U.S. imperialism.

Ho Chi Minh devoted his long life to the struggle for Vietnamese national independence. Under his wise leadership, the Vietnamese drove out Japanese and French imperialism. And today they are defeating the mightiest and deadliest enemy the world has ever known, Yankee imperialism The Vietnamese are proving again that the people can win.

The Peace & Freedom Party was born of our own struggle against U.S. imperialism. Uncle Ho was our uncle, too. We cherish his memory.

PEACE & FREEDOM PARTY
OF ALAMEDA COUNTY

Lee Coe, Chairman
David Cohen, Vice-Chairman
Carl Bangs, Secretary

LETTER FROM CHAIRMAN BOBBY NO.3



What's wrong with the rank and file revolutionary politicians-to-be? What we would expect is this: One thing is that the revolutionary Party members must CATCH the tricks of the power structure and many things along with its operations of pacification, for example. The fascists begin to pacify when they see the ranks of their armed bodies or other, which use to be brainwashed, getting hip by resisting, be it in the military or otherwise. By now, all the Party members should be hip to the use of cultural nationalism by the pigs as a means to maintain their exploitative, oppressive war machine. Party members must have a political perspective on all fronts to the extent that they can damn near or automatically point out tricks, facts, and lies to the members of the masses IN THE MILITARY and those not in it. Check specifically in the establishment news media! Who in the Party is writing an article about the use of cultural nationalism and outright Black racist statements by a fascist named General Chapman of the Babylonian Marine Corps? This, of course, with the run of the news items in the regular media, isn't the only developing situation especially related to the need to teach the correct methods and ideas to the masses via the Black Panther Party newspaper and door to door, face to face community work.

As we know, the Party paper sets the correct, or is definitely suppose to give, the correct political line. Now everyone in the Party naturally receives nationally the Party newspaper. From there, the correct political perspective is transferred, by Party members and the Black Panther Party newspapers, to 85 to 100 thousand people around the country. And from there hopefully it might get to a few more million in the Black communities, the white radical left, etc., etc. Who in the Party.....? Maybe we should centralize with Big Man or someone to see to it that those important situations which develop that must be countered, when it's a means especially to try and rebrainwash those who resist and other potential supporters, are written. These articles should relate to the Party's correct line. The Party member or anyone else who is writing should let the Editor know so Big Man knows it's going to be covered.

Party members are suppose to read the news everyday. I know there is a lot of work; but read and actually assign yourselves a task, say maybe two hours a night or early in the morning, and write articles dealing with specific situations that develop. I know some brothers and sisters in the Party already write articles. But even Brother Andrew one night, with all the work he has to do, he sat up one night and pounded out something. Some of what he had to say was all fucked up. But that was because the Party had to get the Editor on his job. What Andrew was doing was writing an article about how the Panthers had gone up to the campus and taught Reagan's National Guard from Party materials. And it was a timely developed situation of fascism in Berkeley which was fresh in the establishment press. Don't misunderstand. We don't necessarily count on the establishment press for news. But the Party knows that the mass media lies and misleads the people. The only thing the Party has is a national organ which needs to be built up to a million circulation nationally in Babylon and abroad. I'm sure when our Minister of Defense, Huey, set the rule that everyone read the news daily and also do two hours daily reading of Party materials, etc., he didn't tell members to do this just so you would have some kind of "personal" information. No. Huey saw the need to see to it that Party members become equipped with correct revolutionary thought and form the work habits necessary to maintain a political party to lead the movement in this country. (The strongest instrument of the proletariat must be at the forefront to deal with the immediate situations and long range struggle). Every Party member has been studying to some extent. Now it's time to further develop what Party members are suppose to know correctly to be functional. All the revolutionary politicians must be able to (or develop to) write and speak to the people, starting now.

Another thing is that everyone should write to the Minister and tell him what and how much you understand about his latest articles. Tell him if the articles enlighten us. Tell him that. Huey has always been a brother who loves to explain what he means if any Party member has questions. "Prison--Where is Thy Victory?" and the one in the Ebony (Black racist) magazine. The articles naturally give righteous political perspective, and we need more from the Minister. Ask Huey to write more. Huey will love that. And I'll bet he responds. David, brother! Has the Party finished editing and printing Huey's taped statement dealing with the peace forces of the movement, yet? You know Party members heard it on tape. But I'm sure you know that it must be printed so we Party members can study it.

Another slick talking fascist like Alioto and Nixon has made himself known to the exploited peoples of America. His name is Leonard F. Chapman, a general working for the oppressive ruling class circles in the U.S. Marine Corps. It's really gotten bad. And we the oppressed people should hope that it gets even worse, when the top brass of the military has to try and sell to G.I's cultural nationalism which is a Black racist's narrow-minded form of thinking that supports this oppressive, capitalistic system. This General Chapman has jumped up and hollered a program out that's similar to the same crap the Nixon attempted to trick Black people with, which was Black capitalism. Everyone nowadays is rather hip to jive promises that the Aliotos, Nixons, Daly's, and Reagans attempt to make capitalistic fools of the Black community.

We are well aware of how at one time to be "proud of being Black" was scroned by the power structure. Then along came Malcolm X. And he was not only proud of being Black, but Malcolm was more progressive than that. He was or became a revolutionary proletarian who refused to be a Black racist. Listen to his record, "The Last Message." Reading Malcolm's last words one notices how Malcolm began to teach Black people to defend themselves and protect themselves from anyone who attacks. Malcolm also in his last days moved to build the Organization of Afro-American Unity, a needed political organization which was primary in dealing with everyday needs of Black people, such as decent housing, better education, clothing, food, etc.

Huey P. Newton, the Minister of Defense, has pointed out how when a progressive, revolutionary organization comes along sincerely serving to teach its people, the "ruling class, the govenor will finance cultural nationalism because all they (the cultural nationalists) do is bark and holler about being Black. The reason they will be financed is because they are not true revolutionaries." The man (the fascist govenor) will allow the Black racist, cultural nationalists to put on their plays, and the poverty programs will give them grants to play bongos on Black cultural programs. The govenor will do this in hopes that they will forget about the need to fight the hunger and pig brutality rampant in our communities. They will finance them when an organization like the Black Panther Party comes along that will defend itself against aggression and teach the people to dedefend themselves. Huey said, "The power structure looks at the cultural nationalists as a bunch of barking dogs and looks at the Black Panther Party," (especially when 30 million Black people listen to the Party), they look at it like, "a political force destructive to oppressive capitalism which the ruling class maintains. So, what they do is throw a few crumbs to the cultural nationalists to keep them barking. A barking dog doesn't bite. But they move to kill true revolutionaries like Malcolm X," and Huey P. Newton, Eldridge, and many other members of the Black Panther Party. They move to put many of us in prisons on trumped up charges. But as the Party strengthens with the correct ideas and methods amongst the people, the pigs begin to use these cultural, Black racist, pork chop nationalists as murderers in the same manner as Blacks were used to murder Malcolm X, and in the same manner as Black racists have been used as provocateur agents against the Party and are still being used.

CONCERNING THE G.I's:

Basically, getting down to the nitty gritty, there is the need on the part of the power structure to move to use "niggas" progressive revolutionaries as much as he can to try and make it look like "Black people are just fighting amongst themselves." He'll imply or say this on his news broadcast. Not so! Not at all. Now in the military, there has been some riots between Black and white soldiers from here to Germany to Vietnam, and especially in Vietnam where Black soldiers see they have no business fighting a war for the fascist ruling class power structure. If Black soldiers can't get along with white ones, well it breaks down the fighting capacity on the part of the U.S. military. But look: there is another factor. So many black GI's won't fall into a trap with this black racism that this fascist demagogic General Chapman wants and needs.

What about all the GI's, be they black or white, who are refusing to fight in the war, who are seeking sanctuary in churches, going AWOL, hiding in other countries, and also there are those who are drafted who actually refuse to go. I even saw a front page headline one day where it said over 100,000 A.W.O.L.'s. I don't remember the exact figure, but this is important to notice. A large portion of G.I.'s in the U.S. military don't want any part of this war. They want out. G.I.'s even have underground newspapers. The Black Panther Party gets many letters expressing complete dissent from American G.I.'s. All in all, there is great dissent among American G.I.'s, both black and white, brown and red.

General Chapman's Black racist program--(a real summation of what he did): Chapman has told Black G.I.'s that they can have some "soul music" in the juke box and wear natural "Afro" hair if they stop being discontent by raising the clinched fist, which Chapman wrongly described saying and implying that it was a "Black Power salute", only. No. Not the case, the latter. The clinched fist is a "Power to the People" salute. But there is a two-fold purpose here on the part of the power structure in doing this. One is to try and co-op the clinched fist salute and tell brothers in the military that it means "Black Power" which has already been co-opted by the Nixon regime to mean Black capitalism which really breeds more black racism. Two, to limit the clinched fist salute to only Black people by trying to get it identified with Afro hair cuts and "soul music" in a juke box so it won't spread beyond Black soldiers to white GI's who are beginning to show great dissent by relating to revolutionary ideology such as "Power to the People".

Once a white G.I. gets the correct meaning to the saying, "Power to the People," he is going to remember that old phrasing they taught him in school which is the same in essence to "Power to the People." That old saying is, "Government of the people, by the people, and for the people." Now, when it's placed in a proper perspective one can see that this capitalist government is not of, by, and for the people. How can it be when 30 million Black people don't have human rights, which we have been demanding for 400 years. It can't be a government by the people when fascist cops brutalize and murder black and white people who circulated petitions to keep Eldridge out of prison. When young white GI's denounce the military for the aggressive war on Vietnam and also see the racism within the military against black soldiers, then it's time to get a demagogic (lying, misleading) fascist general like Leonard Chapman to come out and say some crap like there has been some "racial strife" and we're going to give you black boys some "soul music" and let you "wear Afro hair cuts." Then he acts like this is the end of all "racial strife", where black GI's are suppose to forget about the poverty and brutality they receive in the wretched ghettos, and white GI's are suppose to say to themselves, "Is that what the Black GI's wanted? Soul music and Afro hair cuts?" No. Look at it in a broader perspective. The next thing the dogs will be lying about to the GI's is about Ho Chi Minh's death, if they ain't already doing it. They will be telling black GI's that the Black Panther Party doesn't exist anymore, which is a lie, as everyone who reads this article in the Black Panther Party Newspaper testifies to, and especially all you brothers in the military who are reading this issue. Brothers, don't forget to give this paper to the white, red, brown and other black GI's who need to read this information. Buy 5 more copies and maybe take out some subscriptions for some people you know who should read the Black Panther Party Newspaper. Don't use your military address. Have it sent home then repackaged and sent to you, so you can make sure you receive it.

A picture of Chapman, the demagogic, fascist general, is in the paper and under his name in the San Francisco Chronicle he is quoted as saying, "Total impartiality." This is meant to mean from the article that "officers" are to use "total impartiality in dealing with Marines of all races, colors and creeds,""to dispel the racial problems that currently exist." Sounds just like Tricky Dick Nixon to me. Chapman went on about "violence" among Marines "cannot be tolerated." But I remember when "Lynching" Baines Johnson would react to Black rebellions in the black community. Just before he would send in paratroopers to kill black people, Lyndon Johnson would say, "We cannot, and will not tolerate it." This same general, Chapman, works with and for Nixon, and did the same for Lying Baines Johnson who kept the war going for the four years he was a rotten President. Lyndon Baines Johnson is a greedy, exploiting, avaricious businessman and was a demagogic, lying politician. General Chapman is a running dog for the ruling circles. In fact, being a general puts him in the category of being a member of the actual ruling class circles which oppresses and exploits us, the masses of the laboring people, unemployed or employed.

I was in the military once and because I opposed racism in the top brass, a Lt. Colonel, I was placed in the stockade for six months and kicked out with what they call a "bad conduct discharge". I was told that when I got out, (I had served a full 4 years, lacking one month to go), they said I wouldn't be able to get a job and that I should accept the fact that it was my fault that I received a 39-17 B.C.D category discharge. I told the fool that there wasn't any jobs out there for black people before I came in the service and asked him what the hell he meant by thinking that I was supposed to be upset by him saying that. Then he said I was "being smart." I sure was. I was smart enough to know that there weren't any jobs for the masses of black people. But just to prove I was a good worker, I got a whole lot of jobs. They would fire me when they found out I had a B.C.D. I didn't care because the work I was doing was aiding their war machine. I began to realize this when I met Huey P. Newton. I became more aware by studying and reading and trying to help organize resistance of some kind against the oppression that the ruling class circles maintained upon the heads of the laboring masses (be they employed or unemployed) G.I.'s, Black, Brown, Red, White, any color, are workers. But they work most directly with the fascist aggressive war machine of America named by Eldridge Cleaver as "Babylon."

So, for those Black GI's who need an understanding of how this capitalistic system works against black and all poor, oppressed people, not only at home but also genocide abroad, I would like to point out number 6 of the Black Panther Party's Program:

"We want all black men to be exempt from military service.

We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in a military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military by whatever means necessary."

POWER
BOBBY

"True freedom cannot begin to be born until all police and repressive forces of the state are controlled by the people."--

Bobby Seale

HUEY'S APPEAL



EDITOR's NOTE:
The following article is taken from the appeal prepared by the attorneys defending Huey P Newton, Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party. Huey's attorneys have moved to have the case reviewed by the Court of Appeals of the State of California. The Black Panther News Paper will print the appeal in part--every week to give the people all the facts as to why Huey P.Newton should be set free immediately.

Prejudice operates to incline the jury to believe ill of the defendant and to disbelieve his testimony and those of black witnesses for the defense, especially when their testimony conflicts with that of white prosecution witnesses. (See Myrdal, supra, at 550-52; Broeder, supra, 1965 Duke L.J. 60 Harv. L.R.; (29) Tucker, "Racial Discrimination in Jury Selection in Virginia," 52 Va. L. Rev. 736, 742-44 (1966).

FOOTNOTE

(28) The United States Supreme Court, federal and state cases prohibiting exclusion of a racially or significantly identifiable group from jury panels do not rest upon an explicit finding that white persons are racist or prejudiced against Negroes. Now, following the official findings of the Kerner Report by the President's official National Advisory Commission, even more stringent controls of the discriminatory result are required. If 7 our of 10 white persons or any percentage even approaching that figure were racially biased against the defendant, a fair trial could not be had as the result of any selection process which systematically, through a series of steps, from use of voters' roll through peremptory challenge, substantially underrepresented black people on the actual trial jury.

(29) Where jury deliberations have become known, overt prejudice toward blacks has been revealed (1965 Duke L.J. 21-24).

END FOOTNOTE

Challenges for cause cannot keep juries free from unconscious prejudice or from prejudice which the venireman, through embarrassment or otherwise, is unwilling to admit publicly on voir dire. Irvin v. Dowd, 366 U.S. 717, 728, 81 S. Ct. 1639 (1961). (30) See also Broeder, "Voir Dire Examination: An Empirical Study," 38 So. Cal. L. Rev. 503, 523 (1965), concurring with uncontroverted testimony given in the instant case by Professor Nevitt Sanford, Ph.D., and Bernard Diamond, M.D., on unconscious racism and difficulty of ascertaining both unconscious and wilfully withheld attitudes of racism through ordinary techniques of voir dire (R.T. 227-28, 308-09).

The law contemplates that in finding facts, individual jurors will make like inferences and reach like conclusions in like situations, regardless of who the parties are. This cannot be the case if there is prejudice in one population group against another, and the fact finding process is hampered further if members of the prejudiced group have an excessive impact through over-representation on juries. (Broeder, supra, 1965 Duke L.J. at 22-24; Tucker, supra, at 742-45; and note, for example, that the authors of the 1890 Mississippi Constitution believed Negroes to be "given rather to furtive offenses than to the more robust crimes of the whites." (Ratliff V. Beale, 74 Miss. 247, 266, 20 So. 865, 868 (1896).

The prosecution herein made no attempt to refute or dispute the findings of the Kerner Report, or of the sociologists who testified herein or submitted the brief amicus curiae, or, indeed, to deny that group prejudice exists to some degree in the great majority of white citizens against black people. Since jury discrimination tends to exclude Negroes and other disfavored groups, the result is to increase the amount of prejudice against such groups on juries so that the prejudice is even more concentrated on juries than in the general population. Exclusion of jurors opposed to capital punishment further concentrates on the jury persons who are racially prejudiced (R.T. 183-85).

The fair trial thus depends not upon whether Negroes are excluded by way of original selection from the voter lists, or by way of the jury commissioner's excuses for employers' convenience, (31) or because as wage-earners they cannot afford to serve, or because they are challenged peremptorily, but upon whether Negroes actually serve on the trial jury itself in reasonably proportional percentages of their representation in the adult population.

FOOTNOTE

(30) "No doubt each juror was sincere when he said that he would be fair and impartial to petitioner, but psychological impact requiring such a declaration before one's fellows is often its father." (Opinion of the Court, per Mr. Justice Clark, 81 S.Ct. at 1645).

(31) In People v. Tripp, Superior Court of San Diego County, No. Cr. 14790, the panel was quashed because the practice of excusing employees for trivial excuse and for the convenience of the employer was found to result in substantial underrepresentation of Negroes on the master panel.

END FOOTNOTE

Under prevailing law, it is immaterial whether exclusion results from a state law or from the discriminatory application of statutory selection criteria which are on their face non-discriminatory. "Along and unbroken line of our decisions since (Strauder v. West Virginia, 100 U.S. 303 (1880)) has reiterated this principle, regardless of whether the discrimination was embodied in statute or was apparent from the administrative practices of state jury selection officials, and regardless of whether the system for depriving defendants of their rights was 'ingenious or ingenuous.' " Patton v. Mississippi, 332 U.S. 463, 465-66, 68 S.Ct. 184, 186 (1947).

Where there is striking disparity between the proportion of Negroes chosen for jury duty and the proportion of Negroes in the eligible population, the burden is on the state to rebut the presumption that discrimination has been the cause. Hernandez v. Texas, 347 U.S. 475, 74 S.Ct. 667 (1954); Patton v. Mississippi, supra; Smith v. Texas, 311 U.S. 128, 130-31, 61 S.Ct. 164 (1940); Norris v. Alabama, 294 U.S. 587, 55 S.Ct. 579 (1935); Neal v. Delaware, 103 U.S. 370, 26 L.Ed. 567 (1880); Davis v. Davis, 361 F.2d 770, 773 (5th Cir. 1966); State v. Anderson, 205 La. 710, 18 So. 2d 33 (1944); Bass v. State, 254 Miss. 723, 182 So. 2d 591 (1966).

Defendant Newton urged the court that upon the showing of disproportion here the burden be shifted to the state (R.T. 327). Not only the motion to quash the venire, and the motion for mistrial after the jury was impaneled, but relief requiring the prosecution to rebut the presumption was also denied (R.T. 344).

Denial of said motions was error, under prevailing decisions and the policy of the United States as set forth in the Federal Jury Selection Act, which requires supplementation of voters' rolls where necessary to enforce rights and to effectuate the policy of the Act not to exclude persons on account of race, color or economic status. (32)

FOOTNOTE

(32) The Act provides (28 U.S.C.A. 1861):

"It is the policy of the United States that all litigants in Federal courts entitled to trial by jury shall have the right to grand and petit juries selected at random from a fair cross section of the community in the district or division wherein the court convenes. It is further the policy of the United States that all citizens shall have the opportunity to be considered for service on grand and petit juries in the district courts of the United States, and shall have an obligation to serve as jurors when summoned for that purpose."

28 U.S.C.A. 1862 provides:

"No citizen shall be excluded from service as a grand or petit juror in the district courts of the United States on account of race, color, religion, sex, national origin, or economic status."

The Act requires that there be:

". . . some other source or sources of names in addition to voter lists where necessary to foster the policy and protect the rights secured by sections 1861 and 1862 of this title." (28 U.S.C.A. 1863 (b) (2).)

The prosecution's reliance upon the Act as a justification for exclusive use of the voters' rolls (R.T. 239-40), was thus misplaced. Rather, the Act itself provides that wherever necessary to effectuate the rights and policies of the Act, supplemental sources must be used, and sets forth specific examples appropriate to such areas as the District of Columbia (suggesting the city directory) and the districts of Puerto Rico and the Canal Zone.

The Act's policy of ensuring that each county, parish, or similar political subdivision within the district or division is substantially proportionally represented in the master jury wheel would, if correctly applied here, prohibit the practices herein whereby the identifiable black community of West Oakland is lost in a county having vast areas of white suburbs (see map in sub-section I, g, this section). These white subdivisions of Alameda County share no cultural or racial affinity with West Oakland. From the defendant's district, 47.5% of the adults were excluded from potential jury service simply by use of voters' registration rolls. Such a result is prohibited by the policy of the Federal Jury Selection Act and by the Constitution.

END FOOTNOTE

In Anderson v. Alabama, 366 U.S. 208, 81 S.Ct. 1050 (1966), supra, the Court summarily reversed a state court finding of no discrimination where 10% of the veniremen were Negro in a county where more than half of those eligible were Negro. In Whitus v. Georgia, 385 U.S. 545 (1967) the Court reversed a conviction where 42% of the eligible population, 27% of the taxpayers from whom jury lists were drawn, and 9% of the lists themselves were Negro, finding these figures under the circumstances in question to constitute a prima facie case of discrimination.

In Mitchell v. Johnson, 250 F.Supp. 117 (Ala. 1966), the court held that the "wide disproportion" of a jury list 35.7% Negro in a county whose population was 82% Negro required the state to explain its origin as non-discriminatory (which the state failed to do). The Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit has described disproportionate representation giving rise to prima facie cases of discrimination in terms of "significant discrepancy" and "very decided variations" (Davis v. Davis, supra; Labat v. Bennett, 365 F.2d 698, 712 (5th Cir. 1966), cert den 386 U.S. 991, 87 S.Ct. 1303 (1967); United States ex rel. Seals v. Wiman, 304 F.2d 53, 67 (5th Cir. 1962).

Voter lists which are themselves a product of discrimination may not constitutionally be used as sole sources of jurors. United States ex rel. Goldsby v. Harpole, 263 F.2d 71, 78 (5th Cir. 1959); White v. Crook, 251 F. Supp. 401, 404-05 (Ala. 1966); Harper v. State, 251 Miss. 699, 171 So. 2d 129 (1965). The use of voter registration lists has been upheld in Boston and New York because those not registered were not shown to constitute a racial, economic, political or other identifiable group. United States v. Bowe, 360 F.2d 1, 7 (2d Cir. 1966); Gorin v. United States; 313 F.2d 641 (1st Cir. 1963); United States v. Greenberg, 200 F.Supp. 382 (S.D.N.Y. 1961).

In Bowe, no evidence was adduced and no hearing held on the allegation that the petit jury array systematically excluded Negroes. The original motion to quash the indictment on the ground that the grand jury was improperly selected for systematic racial exclusion was not supported by any evidence or affidavit. A renewed motion to quash the indictment was supported only by an affidavit by one of the attorneys, based on "discussions with former jurors, the deputy clerk in charge of juries, and 'information supplied by political figures and the United States census bureau' " (360 F.2d at 6). The affidavit filed in support of the second motion contained only conclusory allegations and stated the attorney's opinion that Negroes, Puerto Ricans and blue collar workers were grossly unrepresented on the federal jury panels. On appeal, appellants did not attack the formal method of selecting grand jury members from voter registration lists and conceded the constitutionality of that source.

In Gorin, the United States Court of Appeals for the First Circuit held that voting lists could be used as a basis for jury selection unless it appeared that in the community there was systematic and intentional exclusion from those lists of a particular economic, social, religious, racial, geographical or political group. Considering the problem in 1963, the court rejected the argument that eligible persons who did not register to vote constituted a "political" group in the community. The decision was prior to the enactment of the Federal Jury Selection Act and prior to the findings of the Kerner Report. No evidence was presented to the Gorin court concerning the racial or other characteristics of those persons not registered to vote. The court pointed out that the group (of those not registered) "has no distinct or definable outlines" and noted that there was no showing of exclusion of any enumerated class.

In Greenberg, the District Court for the Southern District of New York held that appellant had not sustained his burden of showing that primary (not exclusive) reliance on lists of registered voters was not reasonably designed to produce a fair cross-section of the community. Some names were also obtained, in Greenberg, from city directories and real estate listings. The defendant there urged that the 30% of the population not registered to vote constituted, a fortiori, a cognizable class called "the politically dormant." The court held that in making a challenge to the "required and accepted standards" for jury selection, a party must introduce or offer "distinct evidence" in support of his challenge (Id., at 387). This defendant Newton did. Greenberg was likewise pre-Kerner Report and prior to the Federal Jury Selection Act which changed the "required and accepted standards."

In none of these cases was there a showing of exclusion of a cognizable class by use of the voter registration lists. The uncontroverted testimony in this case established that Negroes of defendant's ghetto area were under-represented by as much as 29.5%, and Negroes were under-represented county-wide by as much as 17.3%. No such showing, or any showing, was made in the Boston or New York cases.

As in United States v. Harpole, supra, defendant Newton did show a wide discrepancy between Negroes eligible to vote and Negroes registered to vote, which was held to raise a presumption against the state in Harpole.

The existence of an identifiable minority is considered a question of fact. Hernandez v. Texas, 347 U.S. 475, 74 S.Ct. 667, supra. The poor have been judicially declared to be a cognizable class. Griffin v. Illinois, 351 U.S. 12, 76 S.Ct. 585 (1956). (32)

FOOTNOTE

(32) So have members of the Catholic faith, Juarez v. State, 102 Texas Cr. 277, S.W. 1091 (1925), and those who do not believe in a Supreme Being, Schowgurow v. State, 240 Md. 121, 213 A. 2d 475 (1965) neither of which groups are more culturally identifiable, distinct or significant than the black urban poor of West Oakland and other northern ghettoes today.

END FOOTNOTE

CONT. NEXT ISSUE



RIGHT ON YOUTH, RIGHT ON REVOLUTION

On the very first day a little brother here, entered into the breakfast program in South Phily, I saw a warrior come into the breakfast fighting. But after he got a taste of the sister's good cooking, he decided to become cool and check the things out. After the brother dug the fact that we were working in the interest of the people, and we rapped to him about youth making Revolution he decided that the Panthers were alright. Brother Renen went on to explain to him about the Free Breakfast Program, and as you know we are here to educate by example and by giving the Brother a second helping, (of grits) he really began to dig all that was happening and became a beautiful brother. We really feel that Brother Timmy and the rest of his comrades will play their part in the making of Revolution....And taken from the quotations of Chairman Mao on Youth. THE WORLD IS YOURS, AS WELL AS OURS, BUT IN THE LAST ANALYSIS IT'S YOURS, YOU YOUNG PEOPLE, FULL OF VIGOUR AND VITALITY, ARE IN THE BLOOM OF LIFE, LIKE THE SUN AT EIGHT OR NINE IN THE MORNING. OUR HOPE IS PLACED ON YOU, THE WORLD BELONGS TO YOU, THE BLACK COLONY'S FUTURE BELONGS TO YOU. ...

Rolando (Montae) Hearn
ALL POWER TO YOUTH
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
FREE HUEY
FREE BOBBY
RIGHT ON

KANSAS CITY BREAKFAST FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN

The Breakfast for School-Children Program, a commonsense socialist program, will be resumed in Kansas City immediately. Although the Black Panther Party in Kansas City fed over 700 children every day last semester, the oppressive conditions that continue poverty still exist. The Breakfast will be expanded to include more children (hunger is everywhere). Connected with the Breakfast will be a Liberation School for the children emphasizing some of the better-known revolutionary figures during slavery, Malcom X, the Black Panther Party's 10 Point *Platform and Program*, and revolutionary songs. We expect a lot of s--t to be thrown at us because of this but revolutionary ideas cannot be killed off. When these children see oppression and exploitation more clearly the ideas taught them in their childhood about socialism, revolutionary love for one another, self-confidence, and knowledge of self will form a basis from which they can carry the revolution to completion and consolidation.

ALL POWER TO THE BREAKFAST PROGRAM
ALL POWER TO THE FUTURE REVOLUTIONARIES
FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS
Keith Hinch
Dep. Minister of Education

FREE HEALTH CLINIC



For all practical purposes the dream of Martin Luther King, Jr. may never be realized under the present military industrial regime. In Kansas City the opposites have truly manifested themselves. The Bobby Hutton Free Health Clinic is getting off to a rather slow start but this is only because of the repression and terror that is entrenced in the Black Community. Our contacts out-of-state have arranged for some dedicated medical cadre to come to Kansas City to give us some new ideas and new ways to solve some administrative problems. Despite all difficulties, the Kansas City Chapter of the Black Panther Party, like all other Chapters, has received inspiration from the boundless reserves of the people and we are continuing the struggle to make the People's Free Health Clinic a working reality.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Keith Hinch
Dep. Minister of Education

FREE FOOD OR FAIRY TALES???

The Black Panther Party, in establishing and expanding the Peoples Free Breakfast Programs across this country has encountered many harassments, attempts at sabotage, and co-option. But never before has the program been hassled and possibly held up by a "Play-House-School" exclusively for four year olds.

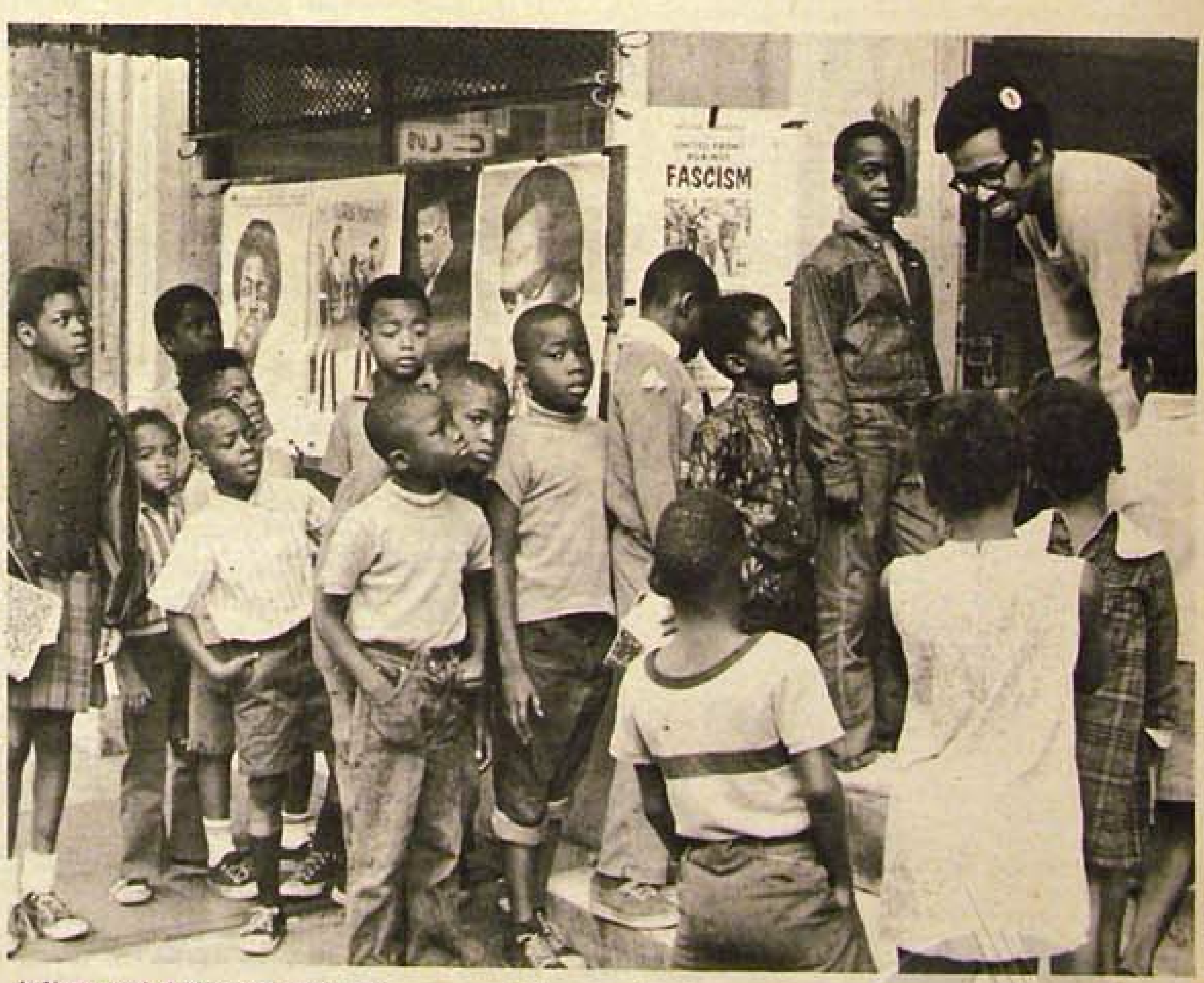
Panthers, who've worked all summer implementing the first Liberation School in Berkeley, are now faced with an unheard-of attempt to place a "Play-House-School" program over the Free Breakfast Program, where children of all ages can enjoy one hot, nutritous meal to start off their school day.

The basic contradiction lies in an attitude, purely selfish, liberal attitude held by a few individuals who are running the "Play-House-School" program. Upon hearing of the end of our summer program, the Liberation School, a rumor was started that the Liberation School and the Breakfast Program were one and the same, and the program ended with the closing of the Liberation School. This was done to create misunderstanding between Panthers and the Board of Trustees of the Good Shepherd Church. One of these "super-liberals", Teddy Knight, a former worker for the government, even went so far as to take cold sandwiches, cocoa, and donuts to a bus-stop a few blocks away under the disguise of continuing the "Breakfast Program". Since when has cold sandwiches replaced hot grits, eggs, bacon, toast, and hot chocolate? This opportunist move was done without the approval of the Board of Trustees of the Church who had voiced their desire to "see what the Panthes planned to do first".

The Head Start/or Coordinator of the School, a liberal in the true sense of the word, was unmoveable, refusing to entertain the possibility of the two programs running concurrently. Her main objections was that "her school was to take children away from slum conditions and environment", and "mixing children of all ages would mean ALL the children of the neighborhood coming in." She voiced a fear of the neighborhood children tearing up and destroying her make-believe flowers, pictures, and toys. Hungry children cannot eat fake flowers, pictures, or toys. Her attitude is a good example of the privileged class coming into an oppressed area to "spread a bit of sunshine" with their presence, their unreal, make-believe programs, that continue only to fill our youth with false values, and delusions of material things which they'll never be able to possess in this Capitalistic Society.

Since members of the Trustee Board refuse to accept their responsibility to the community, and are content to avoid the issue with delaying tactics, and not face the serious problem of feeding hungry children, and thereby providing the solution to a real need in the community, a definite stand must be taken.

We understand the necessity of feeding hungry children throughout our neighborhoods and thereby meeting the real needs of the community, and not perpetuating our oppression with ideals and illusions of materialistic bulls--t.



The people of the West Berkeley Community want a Free Breakfast Program. The needs and desires of the community should take precedence over White Liberal Ego Trips bent on setting up make-believe and false programs and projects which continue to place our youth behind and out of contact with reality.

While there is no comparison of the two programs, they can still complement each other. A Free Breakfast is the perfect way to start off any program, whether it's educational or enjoyment. So we want the support and active assistance of the People to put forth a Peoples Program. We want all persons living in the West Berkeley Area to come and take part in a basic program to fulfill a basic need. The Breakfast Program at the Church of the Good Shepherd needs your support and help!

All interested persons are asked to come to Church of the Good Shepherd, 9th and Hearst Sts., Berkeley California, to help feed the hungry children in our community.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
FEED THE HUNGRY CHILDREN
AND SEIZE THE TIME!

Shirley Hewitt



THE FORT JACKSON EIGHT: (left to right) Andrew Pulley, Jose Rudder (hidden), Delmar Thomas, Edilberto Chaparro, Tommie Woodfin, Dominick Duddie, Joe Cole, Curtis E. Mays.

BLACK MARINES APPEAL HARSH SENTENCES FOR SPEAKING OUT AGAINST WAR

Two black marines from Brooklyn, Lance Corporal William Harvey, Jr. and Pfc. George Daniels, were sentenced to six and 10 years hard labor respectively for making statements against the war in Vietnam to fellow Marines. Their courtmartial which attracted almost no publicity at the time, took place at Camp Pendleton, California on July 7, 1967. Harvey and Daniels were 18 and 19 years old at the time and have already served a year and a half of their sentence. Their appeal which was argued before the Military Board of Review at Washington, DC., on March 6, 1969, has brought the case to public attention.

The two marines were court-martialed for statements made to about 20 fellow marines in informal bull sessions which took place after noon and evening chow on July 27, 1967, at Camp Pendleton. The soldiers discussed the fact that the war in Vietnam was a white man's war and that black people should not have to fight in it and that they would have to come back from Vietnam and fight the white man at home. They decided to request Captain's Mast, the Marine procedure for requesting to see the Commanding Officer to present their grievances and protest their grievances and protest being sent to Vietnam.

On July 28, 14 men in a unit being trained for combat in Vietnam although not on orders to go, requested to see the CO. They were unsuccessful but at the time a sergeant spoke to the men and took statements from Harvey and Daniels. None of the Marines disobeyed an order or refused to be shipped out to Vietnam. Twenty days later the Marines were arrested and charged with promoting disloyalty among the troops. Three months later on November 27, 1967 they were both convicted at a court martial where they were represented by Marine lawyers. Daniels was found guilty of violating a provision of the Smith Act of 1940 which makes it a crime for any person to attempt "to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny or refusal of duty" by a serviceman. Harvey was acquitted of this charge but was convicted of violating the general article of the Uniform Code of Military Justice which punishes "all disorder and neglects to the prejudice of good order and discipline." Specifically, he was found quilty of "making disloyal statements with intent to promote disloyalty among the troops."

Their lawyer, Ed Sherman, pointed out that this was the first case where servicemen were court-martialed for statements against the war when no action or refusal of orders resulted from the statements. He said, "There was no mutiny, nobody disobeyed orders -- there was no disobedience at any time, yet both of these men were given the maximum possible under the law."

The Naval Board of Review reduced Daniels' sentence from ten to four years in a dicision handed down on March 6, 1969. Harvey's decision is now pending.

The laws which these marines were charged with violating are clearly not constitutional and a violation of their first amendment right to talk to other servicemen and convince them of their point of view. Sherman is also introducing the argument that the element of racism entered into the unduly harsh sentences that were given. Capt. Lester G. Fant III, who argued for the Marine Corps, said Daniels and Harvey had created "an extra - ordinarily dangerous situation" by urging the black marines to "stick together" in their refusal to go to Vietnam. Captain Fant compared this to a "wildcat strike" in civilian life. It is obvious that the brass, like the politicians and the union bureaucrats get particularly up tight when black people get themselves together, especially over such an explosive issue as Vietnam.

Reprinted from the G.I. Civilian Alliance for Peace, Cambridge, Massachusetts

DRAFT CASES SNAG U.S. COURTS

LIBERATION News Service

OAKLAND, Calif. (LNS) -- A hard rain is falling on the rickety world of Lewis B. Hershey. There is mushrooming discontent with the process whereby the Army kidnaps innocent young men, kicks them in the balls, cuts off their hair, and sends them to fight elephant grass and the local populace in distant Southeast Asian jungles-- that's right, the draft. The hatred of the draft has generated a rash of challenges in the courts which threaten to cripple, if not destroy, the Selective Service System of America, Inc.

They've got a permanent FBI man stationed here at the Oakland Army Induction Center, who does nothing but deal with the average of ten refusals per day. Maybe he also gets some ghoulish thrill from watching the half-clothed unwilling induction meat inspection, but his job is to take care of those who refuse to step forward to take their vows. He pops up, raps down their rights in a routine mumble, fills out a few of his forms, and starts the ball of repression rolling.

Admittedly, Oakland is a heavier scene than most. In October 1967, West Coast activists mounted a militant Stop-the-Draft-Week attack on the Oakland Induction Center, marking the introduction of the new mobile, hit-and-run approach to mass demonstrations. And the Panthers have seen fit to set up their National Headquarters in Oakland. But Oakland's draft resistance in getting to be as American as apple pie.

Dig these statistics from Uncle Sam:

From July to December of 1967 there were 746 Federal indictments handed down all across the nation on charges of resisting the draft: failing to register, failing to take the oath, and the like.

In the next six-month period -- from January to June, 1969 -- the number had gone up to 1080 indictments. And in the last half of 1968, the number of indictments nationwide had jumped to 1492. Thus, in all of 1968, one percent of the quarter of a million men drafted by the Army, got their cases all the way into the belly of that sluggish monster known as the Federal Court System. When 2472 tiny time-capsules go off in the blood stream of the sorry behemoth, the poor thing knows it's a down.

On July 1, 1969, some 2958 criminal cases were pending in all Federal courts involving various violations of the draft laws -- mostly men refusing induction. That's 15 percent of all criminal cases on the Federal dockets.

In Washington, Justice Department statisticians are gloomy. The backlog in the courts runs at least one year on draft cases even though by law they have the top priority of all criminal matters. In the attempt to reduce the backlog, the reluctant inductees are often offered a chance to repent just before the trial begins. But cases continue to pile up faster than the courts can handle them.

More than 5000 "delinquencies" are under investigation, and thousands more await discovery. If the trend continues, and the investigations produce more and more indictments each month, even the current stopgap measure of special judges in overworked districts to hear nothing but pretrial arguments in draft cases may not be enough.

DESERTER TELLS:

'WHY I LEFT THE ARMY'

First I would like to say that I am an Afro-American. I want to let you, the reader, know, blacks in the army have more reason to leave than whites. Like most of you, I joined the army. I joined because I had come to a point in my life where I was faced with a problem of what I wanted to be. In high school I spent most of my time in sports and really did not feel ready for college or anything like that.

So I made the decision of going to the army. As soon as I entered basic training I could sense the racism inside of this army. But at this time I said to myself that is was harassment, which is just a word to take the place of racism. After basic and something called on the job training, I was sent to my duty station in the States. I stayed there a year before I had to re-enlist in order to get out of going to Vietnam.

At this point I just didn't want to die. Because of this I began to think about what was really going on over there. Being in the service, I never found the information I wanted, and became confused. In Europe I decided to drop out, for more and more my eyes were being opened. Stationed in Germany I began to look at what I was really in. I watched people being put in jail and all kinds of restrictions being placed on them for little or no reason at all.

Then I decided to fight these Army Pigs back. I tried first by quitting the job they gave me. Then every chance I got to disagree with some of their policies I did. They told me no underground papers like The Black Panther, so I read them. I wore my hair the way I wanted. They tried to stop me from wearing my hair long, but every time they told me to cut it, I simply tamed it, which made them even madder.

But there was a Revolution that I knew little or nothing about. A Black Revolution. Here I was stuck in the enemy's army. That's right in the enemy's army, if you don't think they are your enemy, look what's going on today. Those pigs are killing blacks like hell. In the army they put you in jail or kill you, or even kill you in jail. But mostly they send you to Vietnam, dead up on the front lines to die for the Pig or the black that's killing our brothers. To die for the businessman that is starving our kids. And when we get ready to take what belongs to us, whose side are you going to be on? The time is now to prepare ourselves. They are ready to try and force us but we need unity, we need you.

Frenchy
A.D.C.-France

GUNG-HO FASCIST

A Black Marine found himself subject to disciplinary measures, after wearing a button portraying the Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton and the words ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE! It's common knowledge that the meaning behind these words are frightening to the Fascist power structure. It makes them blow their cool. The U.S.M.C. is famed for its record achievements in lunacy and murder.

It's a sure bet that the Marine Corp will not be able to disguise political repression as "patriotism" or "tradition" even if John Wayne and his Hollywood Henchman live another 100 years.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

'If Blacks don't work, nobody works.'

NEW YORK (LNS) -- Blacks have recently stopped construction on a total of $930 million worth of projects in Pittsburgh, Chicago, and Amherst, N.Y. in an all-out militant effort to get into the building trades unions. They are threatening more demonstrations in Milwaukee, Cleveland, and Boston.

The A.F.L.-C.I.O., were very uptight about the Blacks' unrealistic demands, has cited the progress it has made in getting Blacks into apprenticeship programs. Blacks reply that these efforts are mere tokenism, maintaining that even if a Black man goes through a complete apprenticeship program, he still is denied entrance to the unions. Black membership in the building trades uions averages about two percent.